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## THE RECOGNITION OF THE HISPANIC AMERICAN NATIONS BY THE UNITED STATES

"Recognition," said Rivier, in terms that may be applied to the revolutionary era in Hispanic America, "is the assurance given to a new state that it will be permitted to hold its rank and place, in the character of an independent political organism, in the society of nations." The first occasion when the government of the United States recognized a new state was in 1792 when Secretary Thomas Jefferson instructed Gouverneur Morris, the American minister to France, to treat with the French republic, as that government rested upon the will of the nation. And, upon subsequent occasions, when changes took place in the government of France, the United States furnished her minister in Paris with fresh credentials and thereby accorded recognition to the new governments.

The exact procedure to be followed in the recognition of a new nation was first seriously considered by the government of the United States in the early nineteenth century in connection with the protracted revolution against Spanish rule in America. At that time the American judiciary was not perfectly consistent in its views concerning the proper authority to acknowledge the independence of a new state. In the piracy case of the *United States v. Hutchings*, which involved the question as to whether or not the revolted provinces of la Plata were independent in 1816, Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court gave the opinion that before a nation "could be considered independ-

ent by the judiciary of foreign nations, it was necessary that its independence should be recognized by the executive authority of those nations". In 1818, the question regarding the proper authority to recognize a new state was involved in the case of the *United States v. Palmer*. Upon that occasion Marshall said that such questions belonged "more properly to those who declare what that law shall be; who can place the nation in such a position with respect to foreign nations as to their own judgment shall appear wise; to whom are entrusted all its foreign relations". In the same year that the Chilean patriots proclaimed their independence of Spain, it was evidently the opinion of the great chief justice that the power to acknowledge the independence of a new state was vested in the legislative and executive departments of the government of the United States.<sup>1</sup>

The revolution, or rather the series of revolutions, which culminated in the separation of the Spanish colonies from the motherland began in 1810. Although economic and political conditions had frequently caused discontent with Spanish rule in America, yet the occasion for the Spanish-American revolution was the policy which Napoleon adopted toward Spain in 1808, especially the deposition of the idolized king, Ferdinand VII., and the announcement that Joseph Bonaparte was king of Spain and the Indies. That usurpation provoked the peninsular Spaniards to organize local *juntas* which governed on behalf of the captive monarch. Shortly afterwards kaleidoscopic scenes took place in continental Spanish America: viceroys and captain generals were oftentimes displaced by provisional *juntas* which, in some respects, imitated the peninsular *juntas*. In 1810 such *juntas* were formed in several cities of the Spanish Indies—*juntas* which loudly professed to govern on behalf of Ferdinand

<sup>1</sup> The opinions in *United States v. Hutchings*, and *United States v. Palmer* can be found respectively in the *Federal Cases*, XXVI. 442; and Wheaton, *Reports of Cases*, III. 634, 644. An illuminating discussion of recognition is found in Rivier, *Principles du droit des gens*, I. 57. On recognition by the United States, see especially Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, I. 72-254; Goebel, *The Recognition Policy of the United States*, in *Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, vol. LXVI. no. 1, and Paxson, *The Independence of the South-American Republics* (Philadelphia, 1903). For a detailed discussion by a Spanish-American writer, see García Mérou, *Historia de la Diplomacia Americana*, pp. 258-269.



VII.<sup>2</sup> Occasionally a Spanish-American *junta* despatched an agent to a neighboring *junta*, and sometimes these *juntas* entered into agreements of a diplomatic nature which took cognizance of their semi-independent character. But as such conventions did not emanate from governments which had themselves been received into the society of nations, in reality they did not affect the international status of the contracting entities. In the early years of the revolution the *juntas* at Caracas and Buenos Aires sent agents to Washington to solicit aid and to make known the significant events which were taking place in Spanish America. Other provisional governments addressed communications to Washington or commissioned agents to plead their cause in the United States.<sup>3</sup> There was no possibility, however, that the government of the United States would receive such emissaries officially at a time when the provisional governments in Spanish America had not formally declared themselves independent of the motherland.

The earliest formal declaration of independence from Spain was adopted by delegates from the provinces of the captaincy general of Venezuela, on July 5, 1811, an example which was soon followed by the province of Carthagená in the neighboring viceroyalty of New Granada. The first agent to represent in the United States an Hispanic-American nation which had declared its independence was Telésforo de Orea, who, in April, 1810, had been sent to Washington by the *junta* of Caracas. On July 24, 1811, the new Venezuelan government appointed Orea its special agent to the United States. The instructions to Orea directed him to inform that government of the declaration of independence by the "United Provinces of Venezuela" and to solicit the recognition of the new state.<sup>4</sup> On November 6, 1811, Orea accordingly addressed a note to Secretary of State James Monroe accompanied by a copy of Venezuela's declaration of independence. In that note Orea expressed the hope that the government

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> W. S. Robertson, "The Beginnings of Spanish-American Diplomacy", in F. J. Turner, *Essays in American History*, pp. 249-252, 261, 262.

<sup>4</sup> Orea's credentials dated July 27, 1811, are found in State Department MSS., Bureau of Rolls and Library, Papers Relative to the Revolted Spanish Colonies.

of the United States would acknowledge the "new confederation as a free and independent nation."<sup>5</sup>

The decisive action by Venezuela undoubtedly influenced the attitude of the United States toward Spanish America. In President Madison's message to Congress of November 5, 1811, he referred to the scenes which were developing "among the great communities which occupy the southern portion of our own hemisphere". He said that an "enlarged philanthropy and an enlightened forecast" imposed upon the government "an obligation to take a deep interest in their destinies, to cherish reciprocal sentiments of good will, to regard the progress of events, and not to be unprepared for whatever order of things may be ultimately established".<sup>6</sup> That part of Madison's message was referred to a special committee to which Secretary Monroe also sent by request, Venezuela's declaration of independence. On December 10, 1811, this committee reported a resolution which, however, was not acted upon: that Congress beheld "with friendly interest, the establishment of independent sovereignties by the Spanish provinces in America", that the United States felt "great solicitude for their welfare", and that when those provinces had attained "the condition of nations, by the just exercise of their rights", the Senate and the House would join with the President "in establishing with them, as sovereign and independent States, such amicable relations and commercial intercourse as may require their legislative authority".<sup>7</sup> When he informed Orea of these friendly sentiments, Secretary Monroe said that the ministers of the United States at European courts had been "made acquainted with the sentiments of their government, and instructed to keep them in view, in their communications, with the courts," where they respectively resided.<sup>8</sup> In truth, Monroe had already instructed Joel Barlow, the minister

<sup>5</sup> State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, II.

<sup>6</sup> Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I. 494.

<sup>7</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations* III. 538, 539.

<sup>8</sup> Monroe to Orea, December 19, 1811, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Foreign Legations, II.



of the United States to France, that American ministers in Europe were to avail themselves of "suitable opportunities" to promote the acknowledgment of Venezuela's independence by other powers.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident, however, that Secretary Monroe wished to make certain that Venezuela's independence was firmly established before he became the ardent advocate of immediate recognition by the United States. For, in May, 1812, he pointed out that if a counter-revolution took place in Venezuela after his government had acknowledged her independence "the United States would sustain an injury without having rendered any advantage" to the Venezuelan people.<sup>10</sup> Monroe's cautious policy was soon justified; for, in July, 1812, the Venezuelan patriot commander, Francisco de Miranda, capitulated to the royalist commander, Domingo Monteverde, Venezuela again fell under the sway of Spain, and the movement to establish independence in northern South America was checked.<sup>11</sup>

In accordance with the policy initiated by President Washington, on September 1, 1815, President Madison issued a proclamation of neutrality which warned all citizens of the United States to refrain from enlisting in any military expedition against the Spanish dominions.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, about the same time, by orders of the secretary of the treasury, vessels from the insurgent Spanish colonies were freely admitted into ports of the United States, regardless of the flag flying from the masthead.<sup>13</sup> In a special message to Congress on December 26, 1816, President Monroe proposed that the neutrality laws should be modified; on January 14, 1817, the house committee on foreign relations reported a bill which contained more stringent provisions than the existing law in regard to violations of neutrality; and on March 3, that bill entitled "An act more effectually to pre-

<sup>9</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, V. 364.

<sup>10</sup> *House Report No. 72, 20th Congress, 2d Session*, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>11</sup> W. S. Robertson, "Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America" in the *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, vol. I. pp. 469-481.

<sup>12</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I. 170-173.

serve the neutral relations of the United States", became a law.<sup>14</sup> On April 20, 1818, that law was superseded by another act which enjoined every citizen of the United States from accepting or exercising any commission within the limits of that country to serve any "foreign prince, state, colony, district, or people" against another nation with which the United States was at peace. This important act also enjoined every citizen of the United States neither to enlist in the military service of a foreign state or colony, nor to equip any ship or privateer to cruise against a foreign nation.<sup>15</sup> These measures were evidently intended to prevent such persons as keenly sympathized with the Spanish-American patriots from committing any unneutral acts against Spain.

Throughout all the fluctuations of the patriot cause in Spanish America, the government of the United States showed a keen interest in its fortunes. As early as 1810, that government sent commercial agents to La Guaira and Buenos Aires. Those agents were instructed to watch the interests of American seamen and to make reports concerning the political condition of South America. At a later date, the United States sent commissioners, or special agents, to various parts of Spanish America who were expected to study conditions in the revolted colonies.<sup>16</sup> The most important mission sent to South America during the first decade of the revolutionary era was that composed of Messrs. Rodney, Graham, and Bland which sailed for Buenos Aires in December, 1817. The instructions of Richard Rush, acting secretary of state, to these commissioners appropriately described the policy of the United States in these words:

It is by success that the colonies acquire new claims on other powers which it may comport neither with their interest nor duty to disregard. Several of the colonies having declared their independence and enjoyed

<sup>14</sup> *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, III. 370, 371.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 447-450.

<sup>16</sup> W. S. Robertson, "The Beginnings of Spanish-American Diplomacy", in Turner, *Essays in American History*, pp. 250, 251, "Documents concerning the Consular Service of the United States in Latin America" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II. 561-568; Paxson, *Independence of the South-American Republics*, pp. 106-111, 120-134.



it for some years, and the authority of Spain being shaken in others, it seems probable that, if the parties be left to themselves, the most permanent political changes will be affected. It therefore seems incumbent on the United States to watch the movement in its subsequent steps with particular attention, with a view to pursue such course as a just regard for all those considerations which they are bound to respect may dictate.<sup>17</sup>

To the writer it is clear that, during the early stages of the protracted struggle for the emancipation of the American colonists from Spanish rule, the policy of the United States was to investigate conditions in the revolted colonies, to maintain her neutrality in the war between Spain and the revolutionists, and to watch any developments which might enable her to take steps favorable to the nascent states.

The changing status of Spanish America was brought forcibly before American statesmen through the declaration of independence from Spain by "the United Provinces of South America", which was adopted at Tucumán on July 9, 1816, by a congress of delegates from certain provinces of the former viceroyalty of la Plata.<sup>18</sup> On September 26, 1816, the members of that congress adopted a resolution which declared that relations between their nation—ordinarily styled the United Provinces of la Plata—and foreign powers should be improved and provided that an agent should be sent to the United States to solicit the acknowledgment of their independence.<sup>19</sup> In accordance with that action in March, 1817, Supreme Director Juan Martín de Pueyrredón appointed Manuel Hermenegildo de Aguirre, a patriotic merchant of Buenos Aires, the agent of his government to the United States.<sup>20</sup> Pueyrredón's commission to Aguirre provided that the latter should take whatever steps might promote the liberty of the United Provinces.<sup>21</sup> At the same time Bernardo O'Higgins, who had just become supreme director of Chile, authorized Aguirre to secure frigates to be used in the struggle for the libera-

<sup>17</sup> As quoted by Paxson, *Independence of the South-American Republics*, p. 123.

<sup>18</sup> *Registro oficial de la república Argentina*, I. 366.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

<sup>20</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, II. 1879, 1880.

<sup>21</sup> Palomeque, *Orígenes de la Diplomacia Argentina*, I. 194.

tion of South America.<sup>22</sup> With letters from O'Higgins, Pueyrredón, and San Martín to the President of the United States, Aguirre soon departed on his mission.<sup>23</sup> Upon his arrival in that country, Aguirre pleaded with Secretary Adams for the recognition of the United Provinces of la Plata as an independent nation.<sup>24</sup>

The proceedings of the independent government at Buenos Aires evidently stimulated President Monroe in the end of October, 1817, to lay before his cabinet the following queries:

Has the Executive power to acknowledge the independence of new States whose independence has not been acknowledged by the parent country, and between which parties a war actually exists on that account?

Will the sending, or receiving a minister to a new State under such circumstances be considered an acknowledgment of its independence?

Is such acknowledgment a justifiable cause of war to the parent country? Is it a just cause of complaint to any other power?

Is it expedient for the U States, at this time, to acknowledge the independence of Buenos Ayres, or of any other part of the Spanish dominions in America now in a state of revolt?<sup>25</sup>

The members of Monroe's cabinet were evidently reluctant to discuss those significant queries. Secretary of State Adams maintained that it was not then expedient for the President to acknowledge the independence of the United Provinces of la Plata.<sup>26</sup> On later occasions, partly for reasons of policy, Adams sometimes induced Monroe to assume a conservative attitude toward the new states of Spanish America.<sup>27</sup> Probably the clearest statement of the cardinal principles upon which he thought the government of the United States should act was made by Secretary Adams in a letter to President Monroe dated August 24, 1818, when considering the recognition of the United Provinces of la Plata:

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 123; *Documentos del Archivo de San Martín*, VIII. 184-187.

<sup>23</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, II. 1878-1882.

<sup>24</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IV. 30, 39-41.

<sup>25</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, VI. 31.

<sup>26</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of J. Q. Adams*, IV. 13-16.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 156, 164-168.



But there is a stage in such contests when the parties struggling for independence have, as I conceive, a right to demand its acknowledgment by neutral parties, and when the acknowledgment may be granted without departure from the obligations of neutrality. It is the stage when independence is established as a matter of fact so as to leave the chance of the opposite party to recover their dominion utterly desperate. The neutral nation must, of course, judge for itself when this period has arrived; and as the belligerent nation has the same right to judge for itself, it is very likely to judge differently from the neutral and to make it a cause or pretext for war. . . . If war thus results in point of fact from the measure of recognizing a contested independence, the moral right or wrong of the war depends upon the justice, and sincerity, and prudence with which the recognizing nation took the step. I am satisfied that the cause of the South Americans, so far as it consists in the assertion of independence against Spain, is *just*. But the justice of a cause, however it may enlist individual feelings in its favor, is not sufficient to justify third parties in siding with it. The fact and the right combined can alone authorize a neutral to acknowledge a new and disputed sovereignty. The neutral may, indeed, infer the right from the fact, but not the fact from the right. If Buenos Ayres confined its demand of recognition to the provinces of which it is in actual possession, and if it would assert its entire independence by agreeing to place the United States upon the footing of the most favored nation . . . I should think the time now arrived when its Government might be recognized without a breach of neutrality.<sup>28</sup>

On January 1, 1819, Secretary Adams prepared new instructions for the American minister at London in which he stated that the United States was contemplating the recognition of the United Provinces of la Plata "at no remote period".<sup>29</sup> The cabinet was soon informed of the President's intention "at no remote period" to acknowledge the independence of the government at Buenos Aires. Secretary Crawford took the view that such recognition should be made by sending a minister to South America; for the Senate would have to act upon the nomination, and thus

<sup>28</sup> "Memorandum upon the Power to Recognize the Independence of a New Foreign State," *Senate Document, No. 56, 54th Congress, 2nd Session*, pp. 52, 53; Moore, *Digest of International Law*, I. 78, 79; cf. Ford, *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 442, 443. See further, Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, VI. 72.

<sup>29</sup> Paxson, *Independence of the South-American Republics*, pp. 158, 159.

sanction the measure. Secretary Wirt added that the House of Representatives would also have to concur by providing an appropriation therefor. While President Monroe declared that, as those bodies had the power of impeachment, "it would be quite convenient to have them thus pledged beforehand". But Adams took a different view. He thought that it was not consistent with national dignity "to be the first in sending a Minister to a new power. . . . If an exchange of Ministers was to take place, the first should come" from Spanish America. Adams declared that instead "of admitting the Senate or House of Representatives to any share in the act of recognition", he "would expressly void that form of doing it which would require the concurrence of those bodies. It was, I had no doubt, by our Constitution, an act of the Executive authority." Adams argued that "the Executive ought carefully to preserve entire the authority given him by the Constitution, and not weaken it by setting the precedent of making either House of Congress a party to an act which it was his exclusive right and duty to perform."<sup>30</sup>

In the halls of Congress Henry Clay acted as the champion of the Spanish-American patriots upon several occasions. In an eloquent speech on March 25, 1818, in the debate upon his proposal to appropriate money for a minister to the United Provinces of la Plata he called attention to "the immensity and character" of the country which Spain was attempting to subjugate:

Stretching on the Pacific Ocean from about the 40th degree of north latitude to about the 55th degree of south latitude, and extending from the mouth of the Rio del Norte (exclusive of East Florida) around the Gulf of Mexico, and along the South Atlantic to near Cape Horn, it is about 5,000 miles in length, and in some places near three thousand in breadth. Within this vast region, we behold the most sublime and interesting objects of creation; the loftiest mountains, the most majestic rivers in the world; the richest mines of the precious metals, and the choicest productions of the earth. We behold there a spectacle still more interesting and sublime—the glorious spectacle of eighteen millions of people, struggling to burst their chains and to be free.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IV. 204, 205, 206.

<sup>31</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 15th Congress, 1st Session, II. 1476.



With regard to the foreign policy of the United States, Clay declared that her "uniform practice" had been to recognize the government *de facto*. Clay reasoned that as soon as "stability and order" were maintained in a new nation the United States "ought to consider the actual as the true Government". He argued that the United Provinces of la Plata had established a firm government. "Not a Spanish bayonet" remained within the former viceroyalty of la Plata "to contest the authority of the actual government."<sup>32</sup> Clay's oratory did not convince Congress that the time had arrived to acknowledge the independence of the Platean provinces but it incited a debate there concerning the respective parts which the executive and legislative departments of the government should respectively take in the recognition of colonies that had separated from the motherland.<sup>33</sup> On February 10, 1821, that question was again raised in connection with Clay's resolution that the House

participates with the people of the United States in the deep interest which they feel for the success of the Spanish provinces of South America, which are struggling to establish their liberty and independence; and that it will give its Constitutional support to the President whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of any of the said provinces.

Various opinions were expressed in regard to the constitutionality and the expediency of that measure.<sup>34</sup> Ultimately Clay's resolution was carried, and a committee was appointed to lay the matter before the President.<sup>35</sup>

Monroe evidently considered this action as an endorsement of the policy which had been followed by the administration. "The object of the executive has been," said Monroe in an inedited memorandum, "to throw the moral weight of the United States into the scale of the revolutionary movement, without such a deep compromitment, as to make them a party on that side. With that view the mission to Buenos Ayres was adopted, all

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1492.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1500 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Annals of Congress, 18th Congress, 2nd Session*, I. 1081 ff.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1091, 1092.

the messages to Congress were drawn, and other measures have been since pursued."<sup>36</sup>

Early in 1819 the government of the United States realized that a change in its policy toward Spanish America could scarcely take place while it was negotiating with the Spanish government for the cession of the Floridas. During those negotiations Spain suggested that an article should be inserted in the projected treaty stipulating that the United States would not acknowledge the independence of her revolted colonies. Secretary Adams refused to give such a pledge.<sup>37</sup> Although a treaty providing for the cession of the Floridas to the United States was signed on February 22, 1819, yet the absolute king, Ferdinand VII., delayed ratifying it. In April, 1820, the Spanish envoy at Washington attempted in vain to secure from Secretary Adams—as a condition of ratification by his government—a pledge that the United States would “form no relations with the pretended Governments of the revolted provinces of Spain situate beyond sea,” and that it would “conform to the course of proceeding adopted, in this respect, by other Powers in amity with Spain.”<sup>38</sup> Not until after the revolution of 1820—when Spain became a limited monarchy under the constitution of 1812—having been authorized by the Cortes as required by that constitution,<sup>39</sup>—did Ferdinand VII. in October, 1820, ratify the Florida treaty.<sup>40</sup> The ratifications of that treaty were exchanged on February 22, 1821.

By the end of that year the Spanish-American revolutionists had made significant progress against the royalists. Liberated from Spanish domination, Chile was under the rule of her dashing revolutionary hero, Bernardo O'Higgins. At Lima, on July 28, 1821, General José de San Martín—the austere chieftain whose march across the Andes will ever live in the annals of military history—

<sup>36</sup> “Shall the vote be reconsidered?” Monroe Papers (Library of Congress), VI.

<sup>37</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, IV. 115, 116, 199, 200, 209.

<sup>38</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV. 680, 681.

<sup>39</sup> *Actas de las Sesiones Secretas de las Cortes Ordinarias y Extraordinarias de los Años, 1820 y 1821*, p. 19.

<sup>40</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, V. 281.



had proclaimed the independence of Peru. A congress at Buenos Aires had promulgated a constitution for the United Provinces of la Plata. Agustín de Iturbide, the author of the sagacious Plan of Iguala—which proclaimed independence from Spain, adherence to the Roman Catholic religion, and the abolition of caste distinctions—had separated Mexico from Spain by a bloodless revolution. The most formidable military and political giant of Hispanic America, Simón de Bolívar, had decisively defeated the royalists upon the plains of Carabobo and a congress at Cúcuta had framed a constitution for the republic of Colombia, which was often designated “Great Colombia”—a republic that eventually embraced the former captaincy general of Venezuela, the presidency of Quito, and the viceroyalty of New Granada.<sup>41</sup> Through the reports of correspondents in the new states and by the representations of their agents, the government at Washington was duly informed of the achievements of the Spanish-American patriots. Early in January, 1822, Iturbide, who had become the head of a provisional government, addressed a letter to the President of the United States informing him of the appointment of Eugenio Córtes as Mexican agent to that country.<sup>42</sup> Colombia pleaded for aid through its chargé d'affaires, Manuel Tórres, a patriot who was residing in the United States.<sup>43</sup>

Early in 1822—partly because of the achievements of the Spanish-American patriots, and partly because of the ratification of the Florida treaty—President Monroe and Secretary Adams felt that conditions were ripe for the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence. At that juncture there was in or near Washington only one diplomatic agent of the new states, Manuel Tórres, who had already proposed to Adams that the United States should acknowledge Colombia as a nation independent of Spain.<sup>44</sup> On January 18, 1822, Adams informed

<sup>41</sup> W. S. Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, *passim*.

<sup>42</sup> Iturbide to the President of the United States, January 8, 1822, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Mexican Legation, I.

<sup>43</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV. 833, 834; Cadena, *Anales Diplomáticos de Colombia*, pp. 110-122.

<sup>44</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV. 832-835; Cadena, *Anales Diplomáticos de Colombia*, pp. 143-150.

Torres that President Monroe was seriously contemplating recognition.<sup>45</sup> Ten days later Adams instructed Charles S. Todd, who had served as an agent of the United States in Colombia, to prepare to return to that country. "It is probable," said the secretary, "that the formal recognition of the Republic of Colombia will ensue at no distant day."<sup>46</sup> The trusted assistant secretary of state, Daniel Brent, soon wrote to John M. Forbes, the faithful consul of the United States at Buenos Aires:

Upon a call from the House of Representatives respecting the state of affairs in the South American Governments, with a view to the propriety and expediency of a formal acknowledgment of them on our part, we are preparing a report to the President, which will include extracts, not very voluminous, from some of your recent dispatches— . . . I know not how the cat jumps in relation to this great question; but am apt to believe that a discretionary power will be given to the President, to acknowledge, or not, according to his view of circumstances, the sovereignty and Independence of any or all of these Governments.<sup>47</sup>

The "call" to which Brent referred, was made on January 30, 1822, when the House asked President Monroe to lay before it the correspondence with the Spanish-American governments, as well as information respecting "the political condition" of the new American nations and "the state of the war between them and Spain."<sup>48</sup>

To that request Monroe responded with a special message to Congress, on March 8, 1822. With this message was sent a letter from John Quincy Adams transmitting communications from agents of the United States in Spanish America and documents illustrative of conditions in la Plata, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and Mexico. In his message Monroe reviewed the policy of the United States toward the Spanish-American revolution. He declared that those five nations were "in the full enjoyment of

<sup>45</sup> *Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, II. 2099.*

<sup>46</sup> Adams to Todd, January 28, 1822, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Despatches to Consuls, II.

<sup>47</sup> Brent to Forbes, February 19, 1822, *ibid.*, in part in Paxson, *Independence of the South-American Republics*, pp. 170, 171.

<sup>48</sup> *Annals of Congress, 17th Congress, 1st Session, I. 825, 828.*



their independence; that there was "not the most remote prospect of their being deprived of it"; and that the new governments had now

a claim to recognition by other Powers, which ought not to be resisted.

. . . . When we regard, then, the great length of time which this war has been prosecuted, the complete success which has attended it in favor of the provinces, the present condition of the parties, and the utter inability of Spain to produce any change in it, we are compelled to conclude that its fate is settled and that the provinces which have declared their independence, and are in the enjoyment of it, ought to be recognized.

Monroe affirmed that the delay of the United States in recognition had furnished "an unequivocal proof" to Spain, as well as to other powers, of the high respect entertained by the United States for her rights. He reasoned that the spread of the revolution over Spanish America would reconcile Spain to a separation from her colonies. He said that the United States wished to act in concert with the nations of Europe in regard to the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence. He declared that it was not his government's intention to alter the friendly relations existing between the United States and the belligerent countries, but to observe "the most perfect neutrality between them". The President suggested, if the legislative department concurred in his view, that Congress would "doubtless see the propriety of making the necessary appropriations for carrying it into effect".<sup>49</sup>

As soon as Joaquín de Anduaga, the Spanish minister in the United States, heard of Monroe's message to Congress of March 8, he wrote a vigorous protest to Adams declaring that the condition of Spain's revolted colonies did not entitle them to recognition: "Where . . . are those governments which ought to be recognized? where the pledges of their stability? . . . where the right of the United States to sanction and declare legitimate a rebellion without cause, and the event of which is not even decided?" He affirmed that the recognition of the

<sup>49</sup> *American State Papers: Foreign Relations*, IV. 818, 819.

revolted Spanish provinces by the United States could "*in no way now, or at any time, lessen or invalidate in the least the right of Spain to said provinces*", or the right to employ any means in her power "*to reunite them to the rest of her dominions*".<sup>50</sup> Adams replied on April 6, 1822. He maintained that the Spanish-American revolution had reached the stage in which the colonies had established their independence in fact. He declared that the United States had

yielded to an obligation of duty of the highest order. This recognition . . . is the mere acknowledgment of existing facts, with the view to the regular establishment with the nations newly formed of those relations, political and commercial, which it is the moral obligation of civilized and Christian nations to entertain reciprocally with one another.<sup>51</sup>

On March 12, Anduaga sent to his government a copy of Monroe's message and of his protest. He denounced the "perfidy and the effrontery" of the United States which, after having secured the cession of Florida from Spain, had by that message virtually announced her decision to recognize the independence of Spain's revolted colonies.<sup>52</sup>

That message much provoked the liberal government of Spain. The Spanish secretary of state, Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, spoke warmly on the subject to John Forsyth, the American ambassador at Madrid. On April 22, 1822, Martínez de la Rosa sent identical despatches to the ambassadors of Spain at Paris, London, and St. Petersburg directing them to protest vigorously to the governments to which they were accredited against the policy of recognition proposed by President Monroe. On April 25, 1822, Spain's secretary of state addressed instructions to her ambassadors in France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, England, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark informing them that his government desired to counteract the effects of Monroe's message. On May 6, 1822, Martínez de la Rosa addressed identical instructions to

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 845, 846.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 846.

<sup>52</sup> Anduaga to Martínez de la Rosa, March 12, 1822, Archivo General de Indias, Estado, América en General, 5.



the ambassadors in London, Paris, Vienna, St. Petersburg, and Berlin directing them to prevent the governments to which they were accredited from taking any step to recognize "the *de facto* governments existing in the dissident provinces of America". About the same time that secretary addressed to Spain's ambassadors at twelve European courts a manifesto explaining the policy of the Spanish government toward the revolted colonies—a manifesto which alluded to the recognition policy of the United States proposed in Monroe's message as a violation of Spain's rights and a defiance of the sacred principle of legitimacy.<sup>53</sup>

In the meantime Monroe's proposal was being discussed in Congress. Mr. Taylor rightly said that the "Message referred to a great extent of country".<sup>54</sup> The committee on foreign relations, to which the message was referred, reported on March 19, 1822, that the Spanish-American nations were in fact independent. It based the expediency of the acknowledgment of their independence upon that fact. An apprehension that such action might injuriously affect the peaceful relations of the United States with the nations of the Old World was lightly dismissed; and the hope was expressed that those nations might follow the example of the United States. Unanimously the committee declared that it was "just and expedient to acknowledge the independence of the several nations of Spanish America"; hence two resolutions were proposed: first, that the House should concur with the President that the American provinces of Spain which had declared and were enjoying their independence "ought to be recognized by the United States as independent nations"; and, second, that the committee of ways and means should report a bill appropriating a sum to enable the President "to give due effect to such recognition".<sup>55</sup> On March 21, 1822, the *National Intelligencer* said:

The Report of the committee of the House of Representatives on the subject of the South American governments, to which we have given

<sup>53</sup> W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822," in the *American Historical Review*, XX. 786-791.

<sup>54</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17th Congress, 1st Session, I. 1242.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, II. pp. 1314-1320.

place today, is a document worthy of the subject and of the body whence it emanates. It is at once an admirable, a conclusive document.

Two days later *Niles Register* declared

we are very certain that this able and important state paper will afford more pleasure to our readers than anything else that it was in our power to offer them. Its sentiment is, undoubtedly, in full accordance with the wishes of the American people.

The report of the committee on foreign relations provoked an animated debate in the House. David Trimble of Kentucky enthusiastically declared that the proposal for the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence was

a Message of good tidings to twenty millions of freemen. . . . Shall the last of the Revolutionary heroes leave the high station which he fills, without officiating, in his robes of office, at the baptism . . . of all the new Republics in America? . . . Let us boldly fill up our page of destiny, and leave no blank for after-time to write an execration of our memory. Let us make the acknowledgment at once . . . and laugh the fear of despots into scorn.<sup>56</sup>

Joel R. Poinsett suggested another phase of the situation: he wisely said that Spain would be loath to abandon the hope of reconquering her American colonies; he asserted that the motherland would not acknowledge the independence of those colonies until other European powers did so, and even intimated that she might view recognition by the United States "as an unfriendly, perhaps as a hostile act".<sup>57</sup> After a slight change in the phraseology of the first resolution, on March 28, it was carried by a vote of 167 to one.<sup>58</sup> The only opponent was Mr. Garnett, who afterwards explained his attitude on the ground that such a general announcement of policy by Congress might be dangerous.<sup>59</sup> The second resolution passed unanimously. A bill soon passed the House which made an appropriation for diplomatic missions

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1383, 1394.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1400-1402.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1403.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1518-1525.



to the independent nations south of the United States.<sup>60</sup> After some hesitation, caused by the news that the Spanish Cortes had expressed its disapproval of the acknowledgment of the independence of the revolted colonies by foreign nations,<sup>61</sup> the Senate also approved the bill. On May 4, 1822 Monroe signed that bill which appropriated \$100,000 to defray the expenses of "such Missions to the independent nations on the American continent" as the President might deem proper.<sup>62</sup>

This important act was an announcement by the government of the United States of its intention to acknowledge the independence of the revolted colonies of Spain in America. With the exception of the Portuguese monarchy seated at Rio de Janeiro,<sup>63</sup> the United States was the first member of the society of nations to extend the hand of fellowship to a Spanish-American state.

The messages and papers of President Monroe demonstrate that he had considered the policy of recognition from many points of view. His apprehension in regard to the reception which this policy would be accorded by the Holy Alliance was reflected in a letter to Jonathan Russell on March 12, 1822, in these words:

A doubt arises in my mind whether it will be politic to give any *distinguished* eclat to the recognition until we see its effect on the powers of Europe, who will, I have great cause to presume, be much excited by the measure from its bearing on *legitimacy*.<sup>64</sup>

Monroe's opinion that the United States was in a dilemma with regard to Spanish America was expressed in a letter to Jefferson on March 14, in which he said:

There was *danger* in standing *still* or moving *forward*, of a nature in both instances, which will readily occur to you. I thought that it was the wisest policy, to risk that, which was incident to the latter course, as

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1444, 1518, 1530.

<sup>61</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V. 489.

<sup>62</sup> *Statutes at Large of the United States*, III. 678.

<sup>63</sup> *Registro Oficial de la República Argentina*, I. 569, 570; Pereira da Silva, *Historia da Fundação do Império Brasileiro*, II. 280.

<sup>64</sup> Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe*, VI. 211.

it comported more with the liberal and magnanimous spirit of our country than the other.<sup>65</sup>

Again, when speaking of the Spanish-American states in a letter to Madison on May 10, Monroe said:

The time had certainly arrived when it became our duty to recognize, provided it was intended to maintain friendly relations with them in future, and not to suffer them, under a feeling of resentment towards us, and the artful practices of the European powers, to become the dupes of their policy.<sup>66</sup>

And, in an inedited memorandum in the Monroe Papers, the President declared:

The U States having recognized the Independence of the new govts. in this hemisphere, to the South, on a thorough conviction that they could sustain it, and on a presumption, that the considerations which induced that measure would soon have great weight with other powers, and with the parent country itself, it has become the object of this government, to promote that result, by amicable negotiations, with every power with whom a diplomatic intercourse is preserved. . . . Our position in this hemisphere bounded as we are by the new States, and connected in commerce with both parties, and as well with the European dominions, as with the remaining American possessions of the parent country, we have been, and still are from many causes, more deeply interested in that event, than any other people.<sup>67</sup>

While Congress was debating the acknowledgment of the independence of the new states, the cabinet was considering what steps should eventually be taken in formal recognition. On April 19, Adams declared that the best course would be to receive the Colombian chargé and to reciprocate when the new governments sent ministers to Washington.<sup>68</sup> After the House of Representatives had approved his message, on April 22, 1822, Monroe informed Adams that he was willing to receive Tórres as chargé

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 214.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>67</sup> Memorandum of Monroe (undated), Monroe Papers (Library of Congress), VI.

<sup>68</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V. 492.



d'affaires of Colombia.<sup>69</sup> Not until May 23, however, did Adams write to Tórres as follows:

I have the honor of informing you, by direction of the President of the United States, that he will receive you in the character of chargé d'affaires from the Republic of Colombia, whenever it may suit your convenience, and be compatible with the state of your health to repair to this place for that purpose.<sup>70</sup>

Tórres replied on June 8, from Hamiltonville, near Philadelphia; he expressed his pleasure at the prospect of a measure "so agreeable and interesting" for his government and "so flattering" for himself, but regretted that his poor health would not permit him to visit Washington at once.<sup>71</sup> On June 18, Tórres informed Adams of his arrival at the capital in poor health but ready to visit the state department immediately.<sup>72</sup> On June 19, 1822, Adams accordingly presented Tórres, as chargé d'affaires from Colombia to President Monroe. Adams declared that Tórres, who had

scarcely life in him to walk alone, was deeply affected by it. He spoke of the great importance to the republic of Colombia of this recognition, and of his assurance that it would give extraordinary gratification to Bolivar.

President Monroe sat down beside Tórres,

and spoke to him with kindness which moved him even to tears. The President assured him of the great interest taken by the United States in the welfare and success of his country, and of the particular satisfaction with which he received him as its first representative.<sup>73</sup>

Manuel Tórres was thus the first diplomatic agent from the Hispanic-American nations to be received officially by the govern-

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 495.

<sup>70</sup> Adams to Tórres, May 23, 1822, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, III.

<sup>71</sup> Tórres to Adams, June 8, 1822, *ibid.*, Notes from Colombian Legation, I.

<sup>72</sup> Tórres to Adams, June 18, 1822, *ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 23. See further *Memoria de la Secretaría de Estado y Relaciones Exteriores de la República de Colombia, de 1823*, p. 9; *National Intelligencer*, June 20, 1822.

ment of the United States:—the reception of the invalid chargé of Colombia was the first formal act of recognition by the United States of an American nation which had severed its connection with Old World monarchies.

On April 23—the day after President Monroe had signified to Secretary Adams his intention to receive Tórres officially—Adams wrote to José M. Herrera, the Mexican secretary of foreign affairs, to announce the President's willingness to receive an envoy from Mexico.<sup>74</sup> But the government of the United States soon became somewhat reluctant to acknowledge Mexican independence; for in May, 1822, Agustín de Iturbide, the liberator of Mexico, was proclaimed emperor with the title of Agustín I. A short time afterwards, Joel R. Poinsett was sent by President Monroe to Mexico City to collect information concerning the condition of the Mexican empire.<sup>75</sup> But the government at Washington could not long defer recognition; for, in September, 1822, Emperor Agustín I. appointed José Manuel Zozaya, a lawyer and a member of his council of state, minister plenipotentiary to Washington. Zozaya was instructed to propose treaties of friendship, alliance, commerce, and adjustment of boundaries between Mexico and the United States. In particular was he to solicit the government of the United States to recognize Mexico—which, at that time included the territories stretching from the parallel of fifty-two degrees north latitude to the Isthmus of Panama—as independent of Spain and under the rule of the newly-created dynasty.<sup>76</sup> From Baltimore, on December 3, 1822, the Mexican minister wrote to Adams to make known his arrival in the United States.<sup>77</sup> On December 10, 1822, Zozaya wrote again, to announce his arrival at Washington; he sent to the secretary of state a copy of his credentials, and expressed a desire soon to meet him.<sup>78</sup> At once Adams responded

<sup>74</sup> *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, I. 73, 74.

<sup>75</sup> Poinsett to Monroe, July 20, 1822, Monroe Papers (Library of Congress), XX.

<sup>76</sup> *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, I. 76–84.

<sup>77</sup> Zozaya to "Exmo. Sor.," December 3, 1822, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Mexican Legation, I.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*



that he would be "happy to see" Zozaya at the department of state on December 11.<sup>79</sup> On December 12, 1822, Adams presented Zozaya to President Monroe as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the Mexican empire.<sup>80</sup> That ceremony constituted the formal acknowledgment of the independence of Mexico by the United States.

Recognition by the United States of other Spanish-American nations which evidently were included within the purview of the law of May 4, 1822, was consummated by the appointment of diplomatic agents to those republics. When considering such appointments, Secretary Adams interpreted this law to mean that Congress had authorized diplomatic missions to five independent American states.<sup>81</sup> The choice of ministers to those nations was discussed early in 1823 by Monroe and Adams. On January 9, the latter recorded in his diary that the President had determined to send ministers to Mexico, Colombia, la Plata, and Chile, besides a chargé d'affaires to Peru.<sup>82</sup> Four days later President Monroe sent to the Senate the nomination of Caesar A. Rodney of Delaware "as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Buenos Ayres",<sup>83</sup>—an appointment which was confirmed by the Senate on January 27 following.<sup>84</sup> On January 20, 1823, Monroe sent to the Senate the nomination of Heman Allen of Vermont as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Chile;<sup>85</sup> this nomination was also confirmed on January 27.<sup>86</sup> On January 13, 1823, Monroe also nominated John M. Prevost as chargé d'affaires of the United States to Peru, but that nomination was soon withdrawn:<sup>87</sup> on April 11, 1826,

<sup>79</sup> Adams to Zozaya, December 10, 1822, *ibid.*, Notes to Foreign Legations, III.

<sup>80</sup> The *National Intelligencer*, December 13, 1822; *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, I. 94.

<sup>81</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 101.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

<sup>83</sup> Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America, III. 320.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 327.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 320.

President Adams nominated James Cooley of Ohio as chargé d'affaires of the United States to Peru;<sup>88</sup> this appointment was confirmed by the Senate on May 2, 1826.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, by a series of acts, the United States recognized the five Spanish-American nations included within the scope of the act of May 4, 1822. The United States also acknowledged the independent status of another nation which came into existence in the third decade of the nineteenth century. After the downfall of Emperor Agustín I, certain provinces of Central America separated from Mexico and on July 1, 1823, proclaimed their independence—a movement which was not opposed by Mexico.<sup>90</sup> Antonio José Cañaz was soon appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary from the United Provinces of the Center of America to the United States. In July, 1824, Cañaz appeared in Washington.<sup>91</sup> On August 4, 1824, Minister Cañaz was presented by Secretary Adams to President Monroe,<sup>92</sup> and thus the independence of Central America was acknowledged by the United States.

The recognition policy of the United States which resulted in the interchange of diplomatic missions between that nation and several Hispanic-American states was by Spain brought to the attention of the Holy Alliance.<sup>93</sup> An epitome of Russia's response to Spain's manifesto of protest was evidently sent by Russia to Baron Tüyl, her ambassador at Washington.<sup>94</sup> On October 16, 1823, Baron Tüyl informed Secretary Adams of the Czar's satisfaction with Monroe's declaration that in the acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish-American states, his government would not depart from neutrality. With special reference to the republic of Colombia, Tüyl also informed Adams

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 528.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 534.

<sup>90</sup> *La Diplomacia Mexicana*, II. pp. 216-232.

<sup>91</sup> Adams to Cañaz, July 10, 1824, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, III.

<sup>92</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 405, 406.

<sup>93</sup> W. S. Robertson, "The United States and Spain in 1822", in the *American Historical Review*, XX. 787-796.

<sup>94</sup> Ford, *John Quincy Adams: His Connection with the Monroe Doctrine*, pp. 27, 31.

that the Czar and his allies in accordance with their doctrine of legitimacy, would not receive an agent from any of the *de facto* governments of Spanish America.<sup>95</sup> On November 15, 1823, Secretary Adams responded in these trenchant words:

Influenced by the considerations which prescribe it as a duty to independent nations to entertain with each other the friendly relations which sentiments of humanity and their mutual interests require, and satisfied that those of South America had become irrevocably independent of Spain, the Government of the United States thought it proper to acknowledge their independence in March, 1822, by an Act which was then published to the world. This Government has, since, interchanged Ministers with the Republic of Colombia, has appointed Ministers of the same rank to the Governments of Mexico, Buenos Ayres, and Chile, has received a Minister and other Diplomatic Agents from Mexico, and preserved, in other respects, the same intercourse with those new States that they have with other Powers.

By a recurrence to the Message of the President, a copy of which is enclosed, you will find that this measure was adopted on great consideration; that the attention of the Government had been called to the contest between the Parent Country and the Colonies, from an early period, that it had marked the course of events with impartiality, and had become perfectly satisfied that Spain could not re-establish her authority over them: that, in fact, the new States were completely independent.<sup>96</sup>

Several nations which did not appear distinctly upon the map of South America during Monroe's age were recognized subsequently. At the opening of the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, Venezuela and Ecuador had separated from Colombia. Before the remaining nucleus had adopted a new name or a new constitution, on September 28, 1831, the government of Colombia seated at Bogotá accredited Domingo Acosta as chargé d'affaires and consul general to the United States.<sup>97</sup> Acosta arrived in this country shortly after a constituent congress at Bogotá had adopted a provisional constitution for the state of New Granada.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32; see also p. 30.

<sup>96</sup> Adams to Tuyl, November 15, 1823, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, III.

<sup>97</sup> *House Document No. 173, 22d Congress, 1st Session*, p. 6.



The reception of Domingo Acosta as chargé d'affaires by the government of the United States on January 2, 1832,<sup>98</sup> may accordingly be considered the acknowledgment of the distinct and independent status of New Granada, especially as Acosta represented that state until September, 1835, before presenting new credentials.<sup>99</sup> Venezuela was acknowledged as an independent nation by the grant of an *exequatur* to her consul at New York, Nicolas D. C. Moller, on February 28, 1835.<sup>100</sup> Ecuador's independence was acknowledged by the United States through the appointment on June 9, 1838, of J. C. Pickett as chargé d'affaires to the Peru-Bolivian Confederation: it being understood by the President and the Senate when this appointment was made that Pendleton should be authorized to proceed first to Quito in order to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Ecuadorean government.<sup>101</sup> Some years after the independence of *la Banda Oriental del Uruguay* had been guaranteed by a treaty between Argentina and Brazil, the United States acknowledged the independent status of Uruguay by issuing an *exequatur* to John Darby, her consul-general at New York City, on July 1, 1834.<sup>102</sup> Several years after the disruption of the Peru-Bolivian Confed-

<sup>98</sup> Domingo Acosta to the Secretary of State, Dec. 31, 1831, Jan. 8, 1832, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from New Granada, I.; Secretary Livingston to Acosta, Jan. 6, 1832, *ibid.*, Notes to New Granada, III. See also *Register of the Department of State for 1874*, p. 109; Rivas, *Relaciones Internacionales entre Colombia y los Estados Unidos, 1810-1850*, p. 46. The writer is grateful to Dr. J. F. Jameson of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution who personally secured data from the archives of the state department concerning New Granada, Venezuela, and Uruguay which enabled him to determine the time when the United States acknowledged those nations as independent powers.

<sup>99</sup> Uribe, *Anales Diplomáticos y Consulares de Colombia*, III. 68; Hasse, *Index to United States Documents relating to Foreign Affairs, 1828-1861*, part 1, p. 395.

<sup>100</sup> State Department MSS., Bureau of Appointments, Record of Exequaturs, III. 12. See also "Memorandum on the Method of 'Recognition' of Foreign Governments and Foreign States by the Government of the United States, 1789-1897", in *Senate Document No. 40, 54th Congress, 2nd Session*, p. 13; cf. *Exposición que dirige al Congreso de Venezuela en 1835 el Secretario de Relaciones Exteriores*, p. 6.

<sup>101</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, V. 118-120.

<sup>102</sup> State Department MSS., Bureau of Appointments, Record of Exequaturs, II. 241.

eration, on March 30, 1848, the independent status of Bolivia was acknowledged by the appointment of John Appleton as chargé d'affaires from the United States to that republic.<sup>103</sup> As there was evidently some doubt in official circles at Washington concerning the condition of Paraguay—which had gradually assumed an independent status—it was not until after a special agent, E. A. Hopkins, had visited Asunción, that the government of the United States decided upon the recognition of that nation. This step was finally taken by virtue of credentials issued by President Fillmore and Secretary Webster on April 27, 1852, to J. S. Pendleton, chargé d'affaires of the United States to the Argentine republic—credentials which empowered him to negotiate a treaty with Paraguay.<sup>104</sup>

During the same decade that the United States decided to acknowledge Spanish-American independence, she also recognized the empire of Brazil. The separation of Brazil from the motherland was promoted by the usurpations of Napoleon in the Iberian peninsula. Junot's invasion of Portugal forced the dynasty of Braganza in November, 1807, to sail from Lisbon for Rio de Janeiro. Several years after his arrival in Brazil, the regent, Prince John, proclaimed that Brazil was a kingdom.<sup>105</sup> In April, 1821, that ruler, who had become King John VI., sailed from Rio de Janeiro for Lisbon, leaving his son Pedro as regent of Brazil.<sup>106</sup> In September, 1822, Pedro proclaimed Brazil's independence of Portugal; and, on October 12, he was acclaimed emperor of Brazil with the title of Pedro I.<sup>107</sup> On January 21, 1824, Luis de Carvalho e Mello, Pedro's minister of foreign affairs, appointed José Silvestre Rebello chargé d'affaires to Washington.<sup>108</sup> In instructions to Rebello, dated January 31, 1824, Carvalho e Mello said that the United States because of national

<sup>103</sup> *Senate Executive Journal*, VII. 358, 360; see further *The Diary of James K. Polk*, III. 410, 412.

<sup>104</sup> *Historia Documentada de las Cuestiones entre el Gobierno del Paraguay y el de los Estados Unidos*, pp. 22, 23.

<sup>105</sup> *Collecção das Leis do Brazil de 1815*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>106</sup> Oliveira Lima, *Don Joao VI no Brazil*, II. 1130.

<sup>107</sup> Pereira da Silva, *Historia da Fundação do Imperio Brasileiro*, III. 122-129.

<sup>108</sup> *Collecção das Leis do Brazil de 1824*, part 2, p. 4.

interest, and because of her enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, "ought to recognize the independence of the empire of Brazil".<sup>109</sup>

On April 5, 1824, Rebello announced to Secretary Adams his arrival in Washington, he sent a copy of his credentials, and expressed the hope that that secretary would appoint a day and an hour for their meeting.<sup>110</sup> On the following day, Monroe's cabinet carefully considered whether or not the independence of the empire of Brazil should be acknowledged by the reception of Rebello as chargé d'affaires. Secretary Wirt doubted the expediency of recognition; Calhoun warmly favored such action, arguing that the United States had recognized the independence of the Mexican empire by the reception of a minister from Agustín I; while Adams held that there were stronger reasons for the recognition of Brazil than there had been for the recognition of the Spanish-American nations. President Monroe averred that the recognition of the Brazilian empire would make the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence less offensive to the Holy Alliance. But the cabinet did not feel that it had been authoritatively informed respecting the status of Brazil; hence, on April 7, Adams informed Rebello that no official documents had been received from the Brazilian government in regard to the political transformation of that country, and he asked this agent to send him "a written statement of the facts, accompanied by document vouchers, with translations".<sup>111</sup> On April 20, Rebello accordingly sent to Adams a note accompanied by a memoir entitled, "Succinct and true exposition of the facts that led the Prince, now Emperor, and the Brazilian People, to declare Brazil a free, and independent Nation". This exposition closed with a request that the government of the United States should acknowledge Brazil's independence. In the accompanying note, Rebello also urged that the United States should send a diplomatic agent to Rio de Janeiro at once.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Rio Branco, "O Brazil, os Estados Unidos e o Monroismo", in *Revista Americana*, III. p. 475.

<sup>110</sup> Rebello to Adams, April 5, 1824, Notes from Legations, Brazil, I.

<sup>111</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 281-283.

<sup>112</sup> Rebello to Adams, April 20, 1824, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes from Legations, Brazil, I.



On April 29, Rebello sent to Adams another note asking for recognition and arguing that the acknowledgment of the independence of the Spanish-American republics by the United States constituted a precedent for the recognition of Brazil.<sup>113</sup>

Rebello's insistence bore good fruit. As the President felt that Brazil was really independent, and as he did not wish to postpone recognition until after Congress adjourned, on May 22, he and Adams agreed that Rebello should be received early in the following week.<sup>114</sup> Three days later, Adams wrote to Rebello to state that he would "have the honor of presenting him in his character of chargé d'affaires to the President of the United States, at one o'clock to-morrow, the 26th of May".<sup>115</sup> Under this date, John Quincy Adams wrote the following passage in his precious diary:

At one o'clock I presented M. José Silvestre Rebello to the President as Chargé d'Affaires from the Emperor of Brazil. He made a short address in English, which he speaks indifferently, and which the President answered with kindness, as usual. The friendship and harmony between the two countries formed the theme of these discourses, and Mr. Rebello promised grateful recollection that the Government of the United States has been the first to acknowledge the independence of Brazil.<sup>116</sup>

Rebello's reception on May 26, 1824, constituted the recognition of the Brazilian empire by the United States. But as Portugal had not acknowledged Brazil's independence, that ceremony soon provoked a "vehement" and "passionate" protest from Joaquim Barrozo Pereira, the Portuguese chargé d'affaires at Washington.<sup>117</sup> In his reply, dated June 9, 1824, Secretary Adams amply justified the policy of recognition which the United States had adopted toward the Hispanic-American nations. Adams declared that the reception of Rebello

<sup>113</sup> Rebello to Adams, April 29, 1824, *ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 317-319, 348.

<sup>115</sup> Pereira Pinto, *Apontamentos para o Direito Internacional, ou collecção completa dos tratados celebrados pelo Brazil con diferentes nações estrangeiros*, II. 389.

<sup>116</sup> Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, VI. 358, 359.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 372, 373.

was, in no wise intended as an act unfriendly to the Government or people of Portugal. It was the recognition of a Government existing in fact. . . .

The United States have never encouraged and supported the differences between the European powers and their possessions in America, nor have they availed themselves of any such differences to take by force to themselves, any part of those possessions. In recognizing as independent States, some of the countries which had been Spanish Colonies, they have done no more than has been done by His Majesty the King of Portugal, himself. The recognition of the Independence of those States was, in no wise induced by any existing differences between the United States and Spain; nor was it deemed, in any manner incompatible with her sovereign rights. Such was the opinion of the Portuguese Government itself, with reference to the Ex-colonies of Spain; and such, by an application of the same principles, must it ultimately be, as is presumed, with regard to its own relations with Brazil. The negotiations between the United States and the Portuguese Government at Lisbon, having for their object the commercial relations between the United States and Portugal, cannot be unfavorably affected by the recognition of the Independence of Brazil. Nor is it expected that the Allies of His Majesty, the King of Portugal, any more than the United States, will pretend to the right which they explicitly disclaim, or to exercise the power of fixing, irrevocably, the term when the legitimate rights of Sovereigns should be abandoned without appeal, or arrested in defiance of the fact. . . .

Faithful to the principle that every Independent people have the right to form, and to organize their government as to them shall seem best, in the pursuit of their own happiness, and without encroaching upon the rights of others, they have recognized the Brazilian Government, as existing in fact, and exercising all the authorities essential to the maintenance of the usual relations between the United States and other foreign Independent Powers.<sup>118</sup>

This study shows that the government of the United States acknowledged the independence of certain Hispanic-American nations by the concerted action of the President and Congress. In accordance with the recommendation in President Monroe's

<sup>118</sup> Adams to Barrozo Pereira, June 9, 1824, State Department MSS., Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Notes to Foreign Legations, III. See also W. S. Robertson, "The First Legations of the United States in Latin America", in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 209, 210.

message of March 8, 1822, Congress passed the law of May 4, which appropriated money for the establishment of diplomatic missions in certain Spanish-American countries. The policy announced in that act was also used to justify the acknowledgment of Brazil's independence. In spite of the emphatic protests of European monarchies in regard to her policy of recognition, the United States proceeded to carry out that policy. By the official reception accorded to Tórres and Zozaya in 1822, the North-American Republic formally acknowledged the independence of Colombia and Mexico; and by the reception of Cañaz and Rebello about two years later, that republic recognized Central America and Brazil. By the appointment of Allen, Cooley, and Rodney to serve as diplomatic agents in South America the United States acknowledged the independence from Spain of the modern states of Chile, Peru, and Argentina. The independent status of other South-American nations was subsequently recognized by the reception of a diplomatic agent at Washington, by the authorization of diplomatic missions to those nations, or by the grant of *exequaturs* to their consuls in the United States. Aside from the fact that they considered the independence of several Spanish-American nations to be established beyond dispute, North-American statesmen were influenced by the idea that it was time for the United States to foster commercial and political relations with the new states; they were animated by the belief that recognition by the United States would encourage the Spanish-American patriots, and by the hope that this example might induce certain European powers to recognize the new family of states. The policy of the government of the United States toward Brazil and the Spanish-American nations during the age of Adams and Monroe promoted the development of an international policy of recognition—a policy which repudiated the European policy of legitimacy and heralded the principle that, when a new state had established its independence *de facto*, it ought to be admitted into the society of nations. At a critical juncture in world politics the Republic of the North accordingly acted as the sponsor for the rising nations of Hispanic America.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.



## BOLIVAR AND THE UNITED STATES

Among the numerous works that have been written during the past decade in commemoration of the centennials of declarations of independence by the Spanish-American republics, those dealing with the life and times of Simón Bolívar are the most remarkable.<sup>1</sup> In them the character and career of the Liberator are discussed with an amount of fullness unequalled by any of the earlier treatises. The aspects of his versatile genius, his psychology, his personal habits, his talents and achievements as soldier, statesman, author and political philosopher, his place among the great men of all time, are revealed to an extraordinary degree. So many are the angles of vision from which his share in the emancipation of Spanish America is viewed, that the student of the activities of this eminent son of the New World finds the task of investigation much facilitated.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to an extensive periodical literature, represented in particular by a series of articles in *Cuba Contemporanea*, the following monographs or compilations may be mentioned as typical: Hugo D. Barbagelata, *Bolívar y San Martín*. Ciro Bayo, *Exámen de Próceres Americanos (Los Libertadores)*. Rufino Blanco-Fombona (editor), *Biblioteca Ayacucho* (series); *Bolívar pintado por sí mismo*; *Cartas de Bolívar*; *Simón Bolívar: Discursos y Proclamas*; *Simón Bolívar, Libertador de la América del Sur, por los más grandes Escritores Americanos*. Diego Carbonell, *Psicopatología de Bolívar*: Margarette Daniels, *Makers of South America*. F. Francia, *Genealogía de la Familia del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*. Juan Estévan Guastavino, *San Martín y Simón Bolívar: Glorifobia y Cochranismo Póstumos*. "Cornelio Hispano" (Ismael López), *Diario de Bucaramanga*. J. T. M. Johnston, *World Patriots*. Lino Duarte Level, *Campañas de Bolívar*. F. Lozano y Lozano, *El Maestro [Simón Rodríguez] del Libertador*. Jules Mancini, *Bolívar et l'Emancipation des Colonies Espagnoles des Origines à 1815*. J. D. Monsalve, *El Ideal Político del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*. Carlos Pereyra, *Bolívar y Washington: un Paralelo Imposible*. F. Lorraine Petre, *Simón Bolívar, "El Libertador": a Life of the Chief Leader in the Revolt against Spain in Venezuela, New Granada and Peru*. Manuel Segundo Sánchez, *Iconografía del Libertador*. F. G. Urrutia, *El Ideal Internacional de Bolívar*. Carlos A. Villanueva, *La Monarquía en América: Fernando VII y los Nuevos Estados; La Santa Alianza; Bolívar y el General San Martín; El Imperio de los Andes*. Pedro A. Zubieta, *Congresos de Panamá y Tacubaya: breves Datos para la Historia Diplomática de Colombia*.

Though most of the writers and compilers who have contributed to this revival of interest in Bolívar endeavor to appreciate him in the light of the age in which he lived, and to measure his service to posterity, without injecting into the past preconceptions and prejudices born of recent events, a few have seen fit to make him an instrument for the manifestation of their particular views and hobbies. Because of international issues arising in and around the Caribbean region, and because of the animosities kindled by the present war, they have tried to justify their personal dislike for the United States by assertions purporting to show that the Liberator himself entertained much the same sentiment toward this country. That they have no evidence to substantiate their opinions is no deterrent to their expression of them. Historians and psychologists, they appear to think, are bound to interpret—and misinterpret—the thought of a great man whenever he does not give it utterance in a manner to suit their prepossessions. Elucidations of this sort make theorizing easy and dogmatizing a delight. They render signal aid, also, to malignant propaganda against the United States in certain of the Spanish-American countries and in Spain itself. Much of what is asserted, indeed, is to all intents and purposes wilful distortion.

Had Bolívar been actually as critical, if not altogether as hostile, in his attitude toward the United States as these latter-day explainers are wont to portray him, his own writings or those of his chief contemporary biographer would have revealed it. While it is true that only a fraction of his literary remains has come down to us, it would be a miracle were only the portion that is lost to contain his disapproval of the sister republic to the northward. That many of the communications addressed to the Liberator were filled with charges and accusations reflecting upon the United States, is unquestionable; that, in certain cases at least, they were designed to influence him against it, may be admitted; but that they succeeded in doing so, or that he cherished any such feelings toward it, is impossible to show. On the contrary, both his own statements and those of the man who knew him best demonstrate that he admired this country,

its statesmen, its people, its ideas, and its institutions. He was neither jealous of it, nor was he afraid. To him the United States was no potential "Colossus of the North" prone to swallow its weaker neighbors down into the abysmal gullet of "manifest destiny". It was an example, rather, of what was worthy to be emulated, and of what was needful to be avoided.

In order to understand Bolívar's attitude and policy, one must remember that by birth, training, and temperament he was an aristocrat. Much as he detested Spanish rule, and effectively as he accomplished its overthrow, he realized, as few of his contemporaries did, that the break with the past must not be too abrupt. An earnest believer in the superiority of republics to monarchies as such, he knew that the Spanish Americans were wholly unfitted for self-government as Great Britain and the United States understood and practiced it. A republic like Haiti, where the president was an autocrat, appealed to him more than one in which the executive was subject to restrictions imposed by the direct representatives of the people holding their offices by election and for a brief tenure. Political institutions from which the monarchical element was altogether absent, which made democracy a reality, and rendered the principle of popular representation powerful in government to the extent of giving it actual control of public affairs, he did not think appropriate to the conditions prevailing in Spanish America. With the clarity of statesmanlike vision which distinguished him in peace and war, Bolívar perceived that whatever was good in and for the United States was not necessarily, or even probably, beneficial if applied to lands of wholly different origin, traditions, and circumstances.

Where, therefore, the Liberator seems to criticise the United States, he is in reality uttering a note of warning. Even when in exile, when the future looked darkest, his reproaches of the Americans for their failure to afford direct aid to their struggling brethren in the southern countries, are not those of anger but of disappointment. Throughout his career his feeling of respect and affection for the United States, and of veneration for the great leader in its war for independence, seldom faltered and



never failed. Toward the close of his life, also, when he beheld the grandiose political fabric that he had reared crumbling into the destruction that he had feared and even prophesied, his thought of a refuge was the land to the northward, whither he had often lifted up his eyes in hope and where he might find solace in despair.

What Bolívar's early impressions of the United States were, during the few months he spent there, from October, 1806, to January, 1807, can only be conjectured. He appears to have visited Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington before embarking at Charleston for La Guaira.<sup>2</sup> Viewing the scenes of the struggle for liberty, beholding everywhere about him evidences of contentment and prosperity under a republican system that contrasted so strongly with the conditions that he knew to exist at home, must have fortified the resolution he had made while in Europe, to free his unhappy land from the shackles of foreign rule, and must have served as an inspiration amid the storm and stress that enveloped his heroic figure in later life. The recollection indeed of what he beheld in those carefree days of his young manhood, what he had learned at first hand of the character and deeds of American soldiers and statesmen, of American ideas and institutions, enabled him to form a concept of the United States which repelled doubt and insinuation about its attitude toward its sister republics in the throes of revolution, and furnished him a beacon-light to guide his countrymen away from the rocks and shoals of immaturity and inexperience in statecraft. That no record of Bolívar's personal impressions of his visit seems to have survived is unfortunate. Had they been unfavorable, or of scant influence upon his mind and spirit, the proof would have been forthcoming in some of his later utterances. But the absence of adverse comment, and the repeated occasions on which he testified to his regard for the United States, demonstrate that his remembrance in the main was one of affection and gratitude.

So far as such testimony is available, it may be examined from several points of view. Of these the first is his estimate of

<sup>2</sup> Jules Mancini, *Bolívar et l'Emancipation des Colonies Espagnoles des Origines à 1815*, p. 158.

Washington. Men of his time, no less than writers of a subsequent age, naturally placed his achievements alongside of those of the American leader in the cause of independence. Some extolled him as the superior of the two. Daniel Florence O'Leary, for example, his devoted friend, aide-de-camp and biographer, writing to Bolívar, October 28, 1826, and alluding to the latter's disapproval of the unruly conduct of Páez and the rebellious uprisings at Quito and Guayaquil, declared: "the promoters of disorganization will be permanently routed; to the friends of order new courage will be imparted, and the name of your Excellency will never be heard confounded again with those of Washington, Kosciusko and many other ordinary men, who cannot be compared with your Excellency".<sup>3</sup> Given the close personal relationship existing between him and the Liberator, sentiments of such intense admiration might properly be expected. They stand in quite a different category, at all events, from the effusions of a recent adulator of Bolívar, who appears to think that the virtues of the great Venezuelan can best be exalted by belittling Washington—especially since the performance affords him a chance to pay off a political grudge of his own against the United States.<sup>4</sup> His opinions, certainly, are not those of the eminent Ecuadorian, Juan Montalvo, who couples "Washington and Bolívar, august personages, the glory of the New World, the honor of humankind, together with the most renowned of men of all peoples and all times".<sup>5</sup> Still less are they representative of the Liberator's idea of the great American.

The earliest direct reference in Bolívar's printed correspondence to Washington appears in his letter from Port-au-Prince to Pétion, the president of the republican portion of Haiti, October 9, 1816, as follows:

Your Excellency is destined to cause the memory of the great Washington to be forgotten, by marking out for yourself the most illustrious

<sup>3</sup> Rufino Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Biblioteca Ayacucho: Últimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar—Memorias del General O'Leary—Tomo apéndice*, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Carlos Pereyra, *Bolívar y Washington: un Paralelo Imposible*.

<sup>5</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Simón Bolívar, Libertador de la América del Sur, por los más grandes Escritores Americanos*, p. 83.

of careers, the obstacles to which are superior to every resource. The hero of the North had merely the soldiers of the enemy to overcome, and his chief triumph was that of his ambition. Your Excellency has everything to overcome, enemies and friends, foreigners and citizens, the fathers of the country and even the virtues of their brethren.<sup>6</sup>

On the face of it the allusion to the "Father of his Country" seems not very complimentary. But it must be remembered that Bolívar was an exile at the time, and a suppliant for military aid from the mulatto potentate. A skilful diplomat, he knew how to flatter the susceptibilities of the man he was addressing. Moreover, the permanence of tenure enjoyed by Pétion, and the species of paternalism with which he ruled his people, accorded closely with the Liberator's own conception of presidential power in general. Given these aspects of the matter, the denigration of Washington is far more apparent than real.

When Bolívar was not subject to influences of this sort, his veneration for the memory of the American leader expressed itself in no measured terms. Much as he believed in the desirability of a life tenure for a president in the republics that he had created, he cherished no thought of applying it to himself. The rôle in which he gloried was that of liberator and mentor; not that of office-holder and ruler. In 1824, when accused of aiming at an assumption of royalty, he declared: "If my heart does not deceive me, I shall follow rather in the footsteps of Washington, and shall prefer a death like his to being monarch of all the earth".<sup>7</sup> Two years later, protesting against his re-election as president of Colombia, he wrote to Santander:

The honorable lesson afforded me by the hero citizen, the father of the great American Republic, must not be useless to us. The people wished to choose him again to the chief magistracy; generously that virtuous general showed his fellow citizens the danger of keeping public power indefinitely in the hands of an individual. The hero was heard; the people were docile.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Cartas de Bolívar (1799-1822)*, p. 169.

<sup>7</sup> J. D. Monsalve, *El Ideal Político del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*, I. 494.

<sup>8</sup> *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXX. 191.



On another occasion, angered by assertions doubting the honesty of his purpose in retaining the presidency, he tendered his resignation forthwith. "Suspensions of tyrannical usurpation surround my head", he complained, "and trouble the hearts of Colombians. Jealous republicans do not know how to regard me except with secret terror, because history tells them that all my compeers have been ambitious. In vain the example of Washington would defend me".<sup>9</sup>

But the culmination of Bolívar's devotion to the memory of the great American is found in his letters of 1826 to Lafayette and George Washington Custis. Writing to the former, March 20, he said:

By the public press I have learned with inexplicable joy that you have had the goodness to honor me with a treasure from Mount Vernon—the portrait of Washington, some of his venerable reliques, and one of the monuments of his glory, which are to be presented me at your hands in the name of the brothers of the Great Citizen, the First-Born Son of the New World. No words can set forth all the value that this gift and its embodying considerations, so glorious for me, hold in my heart. The family of Washington honors me beyond my hopes, even those the most imaginative; for Washington presented by Lafayette is the crown of all human recompense. He was the noble protector of social reforms and you were the citizen hero, the athlete of liberty who with one hand served America and with the other, the old continent. Ah! what mortal would be worthy of the honors which you and Mount Vernon have seen fit to heap upon me.<sup>10</sup>

To the latter, May 25, he wrote:

Although the public press had informed me of the glorious gift with which the son of the great Washington had wished to honor me, till today I had not received either the sacred relique of the man of liberty or the flattering letter of his worthy descendant. Today I have touched with my hands this inestimable present. The image of the first benefactor of the continent of Columbus, presented by the hero citizen, General Lafayette, and offered by the noble scion of that im-

<sup>9</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed. Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Ultimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar, etc.*, p. 164, note.

<sup>10</sup> *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXX. 187-188.

mortal family, was all that could reward the most enlightened merit of the first man in the universe. Shall I be worthy of so much glory? No; but I accept it with a joy and gratitude that will go down with the venerable reliques of the father of America to the most remote generations of my country. . . . ”.<sup>11</sup>

For a consideration of Bolívar's general attitude toward the United States, a preliminary statement of the specific object at which he aimed in the creation of Columbia and its satellite republics, Peru and Bolivia, seems desirable. As described by Sr. Monsalve,<sup>12</sup> the ideal to which he “early devoted himself, and to which he dedicated his thought, will, and energies, was that of giving to the southern continent absolute independence of European control, and of founding a nation that should be at least as worthy of respect as the United States, with absolute sovereignty, institutions of its own, a republican form of government, powerful and capable of itself alone to maintain hegemony over all of Spanish America”. If such a nation were indeed to be as “worthy of respect as the United States”, the latter, as the first among the republics of America to become independent, would be a natural model upon which Bolívar would seek to pattern his political handiwork, so far as it might be adaptable for that purpose. Yet more than one of the recent Spanish-American writers have attempted to show—by implication at least—that the dislike of the Liberator for the northern neighbor was so pronounced that he was bound to refrain from utilizing it as an example. According to Sr. Carlos A. Villanueva, for instance: from 1813 to 1820 the United States “followed closely the struggle of the colonies, sending along here and there arms, words of encouragement, arousing not a few hopes, and also putting in claims for damages from peoples that had not begun to live. Hence that deep resentment that Bolívar, the one most wounded, felt toward it”.<sup>13</sup> So too, Sr. Angel César Rivas, speaking of William Henry Harrison's

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 200–201. Cf. also Eliza Parke Custis to the Liberator, November 8, 1828. *Memorias del General O'Leary*, XII. 238–239.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, I. 15.

<sup>13</sup> *La Monarquía en América: Fernando VII y los nuevos Estados*, p. 153.

services as minister, remarks: "Proud as he felt of his country, who knows whether the forming of the concept he had of Bolívar was aggravated by a knowledge of the antipathy which at the time of his arrival in Colombia the Great Man entertained toward the United States".<sup>14</sup> As a matter of fact, during neither of the periods in question, nor at any other time, is there the slightest evidence that the Liberator had any feelings of the sort, unless his utterances belie his real sentiments—a circumstance quite incredible.

Perhaps the nearest approach to genuine criticism of the United States, amounting in no case to either resentment or antipathy, is contained in three communications of Bolívar. In the first, addressed to William White, May 1, 1820, he said: "North America, pursuing its arithmetical round of business, will avail itself of the opportunity to gain the Floridas, our friendship and a great hold on commerce".<sup>15</sup> Secondly, in a conversation held with Captain Thomas Malling, and reported by him to the British Admiralty, March 20, 1825, Bolívar is declared to have remarked:

Democracy has its charms for the people, and in theory it seems plausible to possess a free government that excludes all hereditary distinctions; but in this respect England serves us also as an example. How much more worthy of respect is the British nation, governed by its king, Lords and Commons, than that other one, inordinately proud of its equality, where very little can be done for the benefit of the state! I certainly doubt whether the present situation in the United States can be much prolonged.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Ensayos de Historia Política y Diplomática*, p. 208.

<sup>15</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Cartas de Bolívar*, (1799-1822), p. 283.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted by Gil Fortoul, *Historia Constitucional de Venezuela*, I. 456. Sr. Villanueva, commenting on this message, asserts that Malling submitted the text to Bolívar for his approval, and that in consequence Bolívar approved what was stated in it. *La Monarquía en América: El Imperio de los Andes*, p. 104. Sr. Gil Fortoul, however, regards it differently. "It is well known," he observes, "that he [Bolívar] was never a democrat in the American sense, but rather an aristocrat of the English type. . . . It is most likely that Bolívar, able diplomat as he always was, made use of that sailor [Malling] to sound the London Cabinet with the object of securing its sympathy and support in the matters that were to be discussed at Panamá, and for his projected expedition to Cuba and Porto Rico, which the United States opposed." *Loc. cit.*



The third instance is furnished in the *Liberator's* letter to Patrick Campbell, the British chargé d'affaires, at Bogotá, August 5, 1829. As quoted by Sr. Rivas,<sup>17</sup> his reference to the United States is put in the form of a question: "And the United States which seem destined by Providence to plague America with miseries in the name of liberty?" But when the entire paragraph is given, quite a different meaning, as well as form, emerges. "Don't you think," asked Bolívar, alluding to the possibility of a monarchical régime in Spanish America, "that England would be jealous of the election of a Bourbon?" Then he proceeds to exclaim: "How it would be opposed by the new American states and the United States, which seem destined to plague America with miseries in the name of Liberty!"<sup>18</sup> From the context, however, it is clear that, of the three supposed criticisms, the first is merely a passing appreciation of the territorial, political, and commercial progress of the United States, and the second illustrates Bolívar's aristocratic inclinations, his well-known liking for England, and his equally well-known fear lest an imitation of American ideas of equality might wreak havoc in Spanish America; whereas the exclamatory phrase in the third is applicable in its terms to all the American republics of the time. Of actual hostility, or even of a sentiment of aversion, toward the northern neighbor there is really not a trace.

Turning now to a consideration of the instances in which Bolívar spoke in praise of the United States as a model country, his address to the congress at Angostura, February 15, 1819, submitting the plan of a constitution, may be cited. By way of allusion to American influence upon the first Venezuelan constitution, he said:

In fact, the example of the United States, because of its wonderful prosperity, was too promising not to be emulated. Who can resist the victorious attraction of a full and absolute enjoyment of sovereignty, independence, and liberty? Who can resist the love that inspires an intelligent government; that combines at one and the same time private rights with general rights; that makes the common will the su-

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>18</sup> Monsalve, *op. cit.*, II. 245.

preme law of the individual will? Who can resist the rule of a beneficent government that, with an able, active and powerful hand, ever and everywhere guides all its springs of action toward social perfection, which is the sole end of human institutions? . . . If we wish to consult monuments and models of legislation, Great Britain, France [and] North America offer them in admirable fashion.<sup>19</sup>

Five years later, after expressing a wish that the United States might have a stronger government, he added:

All Europe will become free when it imbibes the principles of America, and beholds the results of liberty in the prosperity of peoples. . . In less than a hundred years the civilized world will be governed by philosophy, and kings will not exist. The people will know their power and the advantages of liberty.<sup>20</sup>

In a similar vein, expatiating upon the disorders rampant in Spanish America in 1829, and upon the urgent need of more powerful agencies of political control, he exclaimed: "Who can cure a whole world? The United States are worse off, and yet are the strongest!"<sup>21</sup> Writing, also, to Santander, in March, 1826, the *Liberator* declared: "The American Republic is today the example of the glory of liberty and of the happiness of virtue. So great, so sublime, a lesson teaches me what I ought to do. Colombia, on its part, will know how to follow nobly her elder sister".<sup>22</sup>

How fully Bolívar acknowledged the specific influence exercised by the constitution of the United States on the formation of the earlier organic laws of the Spanish-American republics is manifest in his address to the congress at Angostura, already mentioned. Here he stated that:

Even if the Venezuelan constitution [of 1811] did derive its bases from the most perfect one, in correctness of principles and beneficent effects of application, it differed essentially from the American in one cardinal point, and that doubtless the most important. The congress

<sup>19</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América—Memorias del General O'Leary*, I. 597, 610.

<sup>20</sup> "Rasgo de Bolívar en campana." Quoted by Monsalve, I. 495.

<sup>21</sup> *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXXI. 521.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, XXX. 192.

of Venezuela, like the American, shares some of the attributes of executive power. We, furthermore, subdivide this power, assigning it to a collective body [a triumvirate], subject accordingly to the disadvantage of making the existence of the [executive branch of the] government periodical, suspending it and dissolving it whenever its members separate. . . .

Though the faculties of the president of the United States are limited by excessive restrictions, he exercises by himself all the governmental functions that the constitution allows; and it is unquestionable that his administration must be more uniform, constant and genuinely appropriate than that of a power diffused among various individuals—a combination that cannot fail to be monstrous. The judicial power in Venezuela is similar to the American, indefinite in duration, temporary and not life-long; it enjoys all the independence that befits it. . . .

Like the Americans, we have divided the national representation into two chambers: that of representatives and the senate. If the senate, instead of being elective, were hereditary, it would be to my mind the foundation, the bond, the soul, of our republic.<sup>23</sup>

In his message, also, of January, 1826, to the congress at Chuquisaca, accompanying his project for a constitution, he observed:

The [life] president of Bolivia partakes of the faculties of the American executive, but with restrictions favorable to the people. . . . I have taken for Bolivia the executive of the most democratic republic in the world. . . . In the government of the United States the practice has recently been adopted of appointing the first minister to succeed the president. Nothing is so desirable in a republic as this method: it has the advantage of placing at the head of the administration a citizen experienced in the management of public affairs. When he enters upon the exercise of his functions he goes prepared, and bears with him the aureole of popularity and consummate skill. I have availed myself of this idea and have established it as a law.

The president of the republic appoints the vice-president to administer the state and succeed him in office.<sup>24</sup>

That the Liberator recognized how greatly the circumstances of the Spanish-American countries differed from those of the

<sup>23</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Biblioteca Ayacucho: Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América, etc.*, I. 596, 602.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 527, 529.



United States, how undesirable, therefore, it was to carry the spirit of imitation too far, how needful to be cautious in adoption and careful in rejection, appears very often in his utterances. In his famous "Jamaica letters", for example, he wrote:

So long as our compatriots do not acquire the political talents and virtues that distinguish our brethren of the North, systems entirely popular, far from being advantageous to us, I fear greatly may come to be our ruin. Unhappily these qualities in the requisite degree seem very distant from us. . . . On the contrary, we are dominated by the vices contracted under the rule of a nation like the Spanish, which has excelled only in pride, ambition, vengeance and avarice.<sup>25</sup>

As a South American I feel myself obliged to mention certain facts that concern the nature of our internal wars. . . . What free nation, ancient or modern, has not suffered from disunion? Has there been a history more turbulent than that of Athens; have there been factions bloodier than those of Rome, civil wars more violent than those of England, dissensions more perilous than those of the United States of North America? . . . . Our discords have their origin in two copious sources of public calamity: ignorance and weakness.<sup>26</sup>

So, too, in his address to the congress at Angostura he said:

We must remember that our population is neither European nor North American, that it is a mixture of Africa and America rather than an emanation from Europe; for even Spain itself, because of its African blood, its institutions and its character, is hardly European. It is impossible to determine accurately to what human family we belong. . . . This dissimilarity brings with it an obligation of atonement of the greatest transcendence.<sup>27</sup>

Ten years later, writing to Belford Wilson, he expressed his regret over the "misfortune that we cannot assure the happiness of Colombia with the laws and customs of the Americans. You

<sup>25</sup> September 6, 1815. *Ibid.*, I. 383. O'Leary declares that the opinions of Bolívar set forth in this letter were "those which governed his conduct till the last moment of his existence; and the concatenation of later events has shown how solid were the bases on which it rests." *Ibid.*, 370.

<sup>26</sup> September 28, 1815. Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Cartas de Bolívar*, p. 153-154.

<sup>27</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América, etc.*, I. 598.

know that this is just as impossible as it would be to assimilate Spain to England, and even more so."<sup>28</sup>

Of American institutions that were not adaptable to Spanish-American conditions, two were especially singled out by Bolívar. These were certain features of the military organization and, above all, the federal system. Both are dealt with in his memoir of December 15, 1812, addressed from Cartagena to the people of New Granada.<sup>29</sup> Referring to the disastrous situation in Venezuela responsible for the recent downfall of the republic, Bolívar said:

We had philosophers for leaders, philanthropy for legislation, dialectics for tactics and sophists for soldiers. . . . From this came the decided opposition to raising veteran troops, drilled, disciplined and capable of presenting themselves on the field of battle to defend liberty with success and glory. In perverse fashion, innumerable bodies of untrained militia were recruited which, in addition to exhausting the national treasure-chests in paying out salaries to the staff, destroyed agriculture by drawing the country-folk away from their homes, and rendered hateful a government that obliged them to take up arms and abandon their families.

Republics, said our statesmen, have no need of men paid to maintain liberty. All the citizens will be soldiers whenever the enemy attacks us. Greece, Rome, Venice, Genoa, Switzerland, Holland, and recently North America, conquered their adversaries without the help of mercenary troops, ever prone to uphold despotism and subjugate their fellow citizens.

With these unpolitical and erroneous maunderings they beguiled the simple-minded, but did not convince the men of foresight who well knew the immense difference that exists between the peoples, times and customs of those republics and our own. . . . As to the modern ones that have shaken off the yoke of their tyrants, it is a matter of common knowledge that they kept the requisite number of veterans which their security demanded, except North America which, being

<sup>28</sup> *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXXI. 463.

<sup>29</sup> Its importance, as expressive of the views of Bolívar, and its effect upon those to whom it was directed, are thus attested by O'Leary: "This document reveals the political opinions that guided him throughout his public career." It was "read with great eagerness by all parties . . . and brought on a reaction favorable to the cause of independence." Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Biblioteca Ayacucho: Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*, etc., I. 151, 160.

at peace with all the world and protected by the sea, has not felt the necessity in recent years of retaining the complement of veteran troops required for the defense of its frontiers and strongholds.

The consequences made the error in its calculation severely plain to Venezuela; for the militia that sallied forth to meet the enemy, ignorant even of the use of arms, and not habituated to discipline and obedience, were overwhelmed at the beginning of the last campaign . . . which produced general disheartenment among soldiers and officers; for it is a military axiom that only armies accustomed to war are capable of recovering from the first unlucky incidents in a campaign.<sup>30</sup>

More elaborate still was the expression of Bolívar's disapproval of the federal system, in view of the injurious effects it had had, and was likely to have, on the nascent republics of Spanish America. He averred that:

What weakened the government of Venezuela [more than extravagance and the issue of paper money] was the federal form that it adopted, following the exaggerated maxims of the rights of man which, by authorizing it to govern itself, breaks up social relationships and plunges nations into anarchy. . . .

Every province governed itself independently; and, patterning itself upon them, every town pretended to a like power, relying upon practices of the sort and the theory that all men and all governments enjoy the prerogative of setting up at their pleasure the government that suits them.

The subdivision of the province of Caracas, projected, discussed and approved by the federal congress, awoke and stirred up a bitter rivalry on the part of the subordinate towns and localities against the capital, which, said the congressmen who wanted to rule in their own districts, was a tyrant over the cities and the leech of the state.

The federal system, though it may be the most perfect and most capable of assuring human happiness in society is, nevertheless, the most unsuited to the interests of our nascent states. Generally speaking, our fellow citizens are not yet fit to exercise their rights fully and freely, because they lack the political virtues that characterize the true republican—virtues that are not acquirable under absolute governments, where the rights and the duties of the citizen are unknown. . . .

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-154.



I am disposed to think that, unless we centralize our American governments, our enemies will obtain the most complete advantage; we shall be inevitably involved in the horrors of civil dissension and conquered ignominiously by that handful of bandits who infest our regions.<sup>31</sup>

A year later, replying to the governor of Barinas, a partisan of federalism, Bolívar observed:

You can see that only those nations that have a government alike centralized and energetic are powerful and respected. France and England dispose of the world today only because of the strength of their government. . . .

How can small peoples, poor and impotent, aspire to the sovereignty and uphold it? You will call to mind the sovereignties of the United States. But, to begin with, these sovereignties were not set up until a dozen years after the revolution when, the war having ended, that Confederation was recognized by its very oppressors and enemies; till then the conquerors themselves had been the rulers of the state, and at their command everything was supplied without question—armies, arms and treasure. Secondly, the provinces of the United States, however sovereign, are such only for the purposes of internal administration, political and judicial. The treasury, affairs of war, the foreign relations of all the sovereignties are wholly subject to the authority of the president of the States alone. No province, furthermore, is sovereign unless it possesses a population and an amount of wealth sufficient to inspire respect on its own account. Eight hundred thousand inhabitants is the least population of the weakest sovereignty in those States.<sup>32</sup>

Renewing his attack upon the federal system as inapplicable to Spanish-American conditions, and reasserting his belief in the necessity for a centralization of public powers, in his "Jamaica letter" of September 6, 1815, the Liberator declared that "the American states require the care of paternal governments that heal the sores and wounds of despotism and war". "I do not approve the federal system among the popular and representative," he continued, "because it is too perfect, and demands

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 154–156.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 222.

political virtues and talents very superior to ours.'"<sup>33</sup> In his message to the congress at Angostura he expressed like sentiments:

The more I admire the excellence of the federal constitution of Venezuela, the more am I convinced of the impossibility of its application to our state. And, in my way of thinking, it is marvellous that its model in North America gets along so prosperously and that it is not altogether upset at the sight of the first difficulty or danger. In spite of the fact that that people [the American] is a singular model of political virtues and moral enlightenment; even if liberty has been its cradle, if it has been nurtured in liberty and fed on pure liberty—I must say, nevertheless, that in many respects this people is unique in the history of humankind. It is a prodigy, I repeat, that a system so feeble and complicated as the federal has been able to rule it under circumstances so difficult and delicate as those in the past.

But, whatever the government of the American nation, I must say that never, even remotely, did it enter my head to assimilate the situation and nature of two states so distinct as the English-American and Spanish-American. Would it not be very difficult to apply to Spain the code of political, civil and religious liberty of England? Well, it is more difficult still to adopt in Venezuela the laws of North America.

Does not the *Spirit of the Laws* say that these must be appropriate to the people who are in process of formation? . . . Here is the code that we ought to consult, and not that of Washington!

The first congress, in its federal constitution, hearkened more to the spirit of the provinces than to the solid idea of establishing an indivisible and centralized republic. Here our legislators yielded to the inconsiderate pressure of those provincials who were obfuscated by the dazzling brilliance of the happiness of the American people, fancying that the blessings it enjoys are due wholly to the form of government, and not to the character and customs of the citizens.

However promising this magnificent federal system [*i.e.*, of the United States] may seem and may in fact be, the Venezuelans could not enjoy it all of a sudden when released from their chains. We were not prepared for so much welfare. . . . Our moral constitution did not yet have the consistency needful to enjoy the benefit of a gov-

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 384, 386.

ernment completely representative, and so sublime as to be suitable for a republic of saints.<sup>34</sup>

All that happened during the ten years that followed simply confirmed Bolívar's convictions on this point. Writing to O'Leary, September 13, 1829, he said:

I have less inclination than ever to deal with federal government; such a social form is regularized anarchy, or rather it is a law that prescribes implicitly the obligation of socially dissolving and ruining the state with all its individuals at once. To my mind it would be better for [Spanish] America to adopt the Koran than the government of the United States, although it is the best in the world.<sup>35</sup>

Examining now Bolívar's interest in the Congress of Panamá and his attitude toward the United States in that connection, it is well to call attention at the outset to the disposition of several Spanish-American writers in recent times to assert or imply that the Liberator was altogether opposed to the idea of having the northern republic represented at the gathering, that he summoned the Congress as a means of creating a counterpoise against potential peril from that quarter, and that he held this country responsible somehow for its failure. To explain why Bolívar sent out his circular of December 7, 1824, to the Spanish-American republics, Sr. Monsalve,<sup>36</sup> for example, states that, after the victories at Junin and Ayacucho, the views of Bolívar were aimed at strengthening Colombia and safeguarding it against later conquest. Now was the time to put into practice the idea cherished in 1815,<sup>37</sup> which in 1818 he would have wished to see realized: that of forming Spanish America into a confederation that could protect the federated nationalities against aggression, "European or racial", defend itself from the old continent and counterbalance the probable ambitions of the United States. Sr. Rivas<sup>38</sup> declares, similarly, that

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 595-597.

<sup>35</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Biblioteca Ayacucho: Ultimos Años de la Vida Pública de Bolívar, etc.*, pp. 576-577.

<sup>36</sup> *Op. cit.*, II. 173.

<sup>37</sup> Set forth in the "Jamaica letter" of September 6.

<sup>38</sup> *Op. cit.*, 173.



the government of Colombia could not forget that it was due chiefly to the formal interposition of the United States, which already had its designs on Cuba,<sup>39</sup> that it [Colombia] saw itself prevented from sending to this island and Porto Rico the army which had assured at Ayacucho the liberty of America. Neither could it forget that the failure of the Congress of Panamá, the supreme dream of Bolívar, proceeded in great measure from the opposition which the principles that this body was to formulate encountered in the North American Houses [of Congress] and Cabinet.

So, also, Sr. Gil Fortoul,<sup>40</sup> alluding to the failure of the Congress, remarks:

Thus was frustrated the double thought of Bolívar: to save from the domination of Spain—and of the United States—the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, and to establish a permanent equilibrium between the great republic of English origin and the republics of Spanish origin. Which perhaps would have rendered the hegemony or protectorate of the former over the latter impossible.

Sr. Pereyra,<sup>41</sup> on his part, alluding to the action of Santander, observes

In the ups and downs of the events of those tempestuous days a noisy, narrow ignoramus took upon himself the task of nullifying the grandiose thought of the genius [Bolívar] and, as vice-president of Colombia charged with the government in the absence of Bolívar, invited the United States and Brazil to participate in the Congress of Panamá. This Congress of Panamá absorbed the attention of Bolívar for several years, and when dispatching the memorable circular for its summons, his original idea had already degenerated; no longer was it a Spanish-American league with the object of confederation, but a congress of all the states of America, when Brazil and the United States—alien bodies on which Bolívar on principle had not wished to reckon—entered into the convocation.

The mediocre Santander not only spoiled the political idea, but planted the seed of that piece of pretentious foolishness called "Pan

<sup>39</sup> For a complete refutation of this assertion, see Raúl de Cárdenas, "Cuba no puede invocarse en testimonio del imperialismo norteamericano," in *Cuba Contemporanea*, XIV. 246-290.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, I. 386.

<sup>41</sup> *Op. cit.*, 156, 158.

Americanism", utilized by the United States for the designs of its national policy at the expense of the Spanish-American republics.

In the mind of Bolívar, indeed, there never existed the absurd idea of a continental union. What he desired was solely the union of the republics that had become independent of Spain; and accordingly Brazil and the United States lay outside of it, just as Canada has remained excluded from the farces called "Pan-American Congresses."

Though not agreeing altogether with Sr. Pereyra's interpretation of Bolívar's concept of an assemblage of the nations on the Isthmus, Sr. Blanco-Fombona is at one with him in the estimate of Santander's behavior and its unfortunate consequences. In his opinion, "Bolívar did not wish to have the United States take part in the Congress".<sup>42</sup> The idea of the Liberator in 1815, he declares, of an "august congress of representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires", met to "treat and discuss the high interests of peace and war", should not be confounded with his later idea, according to which an international congress made up exclusively of Spanish-American countries should meet.

Santander balked this idea by undertaking on his own responsibility, as vice-president of Colombia, to invite the United States and European nations to the Congress of Panamá. The consequence was that Yankees came in . . . to give us advice and to mix themselves up with the problems of our America.

The lack of foresight displayed by Francisco de P. Santander opened the door to them. That selfsame Panamá was to become, in the course of time, a witness of the Punic faith of the United States, on the one hand, and of the final result of Santander's policy, on the other.<sup>43</sup>

Apparently, also, for the purpose of demonstrating that Bolívar hoped that out of the Congress of Panamá would arise an international counterpoise to the United States, Sr. Blanco-Fombona, in his edition of the "Narración", in the *Memorias del General*

<sup>42</sup> *La Evolución Política y Social de Hispano América*, p. 88, note.

<sup>43</sup> Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*, etc., II. 614, note.

O'Leary,<sup>44</sup> prefixes a rather misleading title to the portion of the work dealing with a scheme of confederating the republics. This plan was suggested by the report brought from Panamá by one of the Peruvian delegates to the Congress, about the menace of an attack from Spain aided by France, the design of the Holy Alliance to subject the former colonies once more to Spanish rule, and the desire of Great Britain to see modifications made in the democratic bases on which the new nations rested. The title in question reads: "Project of confederating the new states or creation of a great republic, that would defend itself from Europe, serve as a counterpoise to Brazil and the United States, and become a make-weight in the political decisions of the world".<sup>45</sup> But in point of fact the sole reference in the portion of the text concerned to the United States discloses not the slightest indication that the Liberator wanted the Congress of Panamá to set up a counterpoise to this country. What it reveals, instead, is his fear lest the internal weakness of Colombia, and the probability of a similar condition in Peru, might bring disaster, and his insistence upon the need of taking local precautions against it. Clearly nothing more can be read into it than a reassertion of the Liberator's dread of internal collapse due; partly to an unwise imitation of the loose American federal system, and partly to the dissensions and disturbances seemingly inherent in the countries affected. Writing to La Fuente, Bolívar said:

The sole remedy that we can apply to so tremendous an evil is a general federation of Bolivia, Peru and Colombia, closer than that of the United States, controlled by a president and a vice-president, and governed by the Bolivian constitution, which could serve for the individual states and for the federation in general, making such changes as might appear advisable.<sup>46</sup>

By way of counteracting these misinterpretations of what the Liberator thought about the Congress of Panamá, and the relation to it of the United States, the judgment of another

<sup>44</sup> Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, II. 582.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 584.



recent Spanish-American writer, who has made a close study of that body, may be cited. According to Sr. Pedro A. Zubieta:

Colombia believed, and rightly, that the participation, even if indirect, of these two powers [Great Britain and the United States] would contribute more seriousness to the labors of the assemblage, while it would serve to fix the real concept that ought to be formed, regarding the object which so august a corporation proposed to realize, overcoming in this fashion the bad effect of unfavorable accounts of it, circulated with zeal in the old continent by governments that could not view with friendly eyes the definitive establishment of the American democracies.<sup>47</sup>

Stronger testimony still is afforded by the statements of actual contemporaries. O'Leary, for example, declares that the government of Colombia ordered Salazar, the minister in Washington,

to sound the intentions of that government regarding the great assembly and, in case it were favorably disposed, formally to invite it to send plenipotentiaries to Panamá, who, in union with those from Colombia and its allies, should concert efficacious means of resistance to all foreign colonization on the American continent and to the application of legitimist principles to the American states in general.<sup>48</sup>

Again, after alluding to the fact that the United States in accepting the invitation made it known that it would observe strict neutrality between the belligerent parties, he says:

At length the assent was secured of the different nations of North and South America for a realization of the hopes that since 1815 Bolívar had conceived of seeing installed an august congress of the representatives of the republics, kingdoms and empires to treat and discuss the high interests of peace and war with the nations of the other parts of the earth.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> *Congresos de Panamá y Tacubaya: breves Datos para la Historia Diplomática de Colombia*, p. 36.

<sup>48</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Biblioteca Ayacucho: Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*, etc., II. 621.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 626.

No bogey of Yankee domination thus was conjured up in the mind of O'Leary. Neither was it in Bolívar's.

In a letter to Santander, March 11, 1825, speaking of several elements needful for the salvation of Spanish America, the Liberator observed:

Furthermore, I insist upon the Congress of the Isthmus of all the American states, which is the fifth element. . . .

The palliating remedy for all this [*i.e.*, the threatening European situation at the time], if it meets, is the great congress of plenipotentiaries on the Isthmus in accordance with a vigorous, close and extensive plan of action, with an army at its command of a hundred thousand men at least, maintained by the confederation and independent of the constituent parts.

In addition to the other trifles of a fine-spun policy on the European order, a federal marine and an intimate and extremely close alliance with England and North America.<sup>50</sup>

That he did not disapprove of the invitation given the United States, but only of its premature publicity, is evident in his statement to Héres, July 9:

I believe that the government of Colombia may get into trouble by publishing the invitation made to the United States without ascertaining beforehand its result. Political business is infinitely delicate; moreover, England is likely to regard such an invitation with unfriendly eyes. . . . Kindly tell the president [Santander] of my satisfaction with his entire administration.<sup>51</sup>

A similar attitude appears in another communication to Santander, October 10. With reference to the fact that on leaving Peru for Bolivia he had relinquished control over foreign affairs, he remarked: "Knowing that nothing is permissible for me to say in regard to Colombia, and recently in view of the fact that we are to be united federally in Panamá, our decisions in war, above all, must be federal."<sup>52</sup> Writing to Briceño, February 27, 1826, moreover, he said:

<sup>50</sup> *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXX. 49, 53.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 83, 84.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

I am very anxious to see the General Assembly of the Isthmus installed. Besides being a step eminently politic and interesting, it is a step that we are bound to take as soon as possible, since Europe has its eyes fixed on the Isthmus and waits with impatient curiosity to see what the object of our alliance is.<sup>53</sup>

Only after the Congress had been transferred from Panamá to Tacubaya, and evidence was at hand to show that it had been substantially a failure, so far as its main purposes were concerned, did Bolívar express himself disappointed. To Briceño he wrote: "The transference of the assembly to Mexico is going to put it under the immediate influence of that power, already too preponderant, and also under that of the United States of the North".<sup>54</sup> If he feared peril from any part of North America at the time, apparently it was not a "Yankee Colossus" that he dreaded. Later, in a letter to Páez, he thus records his feelings: "The Congress of Panamá, an institution that ought to be admirable if it had more efficacy, is nothing other than that crazy Greek who pretended to direct from a rock the ships that sailed. Its power will be a shadow, and its decrees mere counsellings—nothing more".<sup>55</sup>

But if the Liberator's "table-talk", taken down by Luís Perú de Lacroix, is at all a trustworthy index to what Bolívar thought of the Congress in 1828, it throws a most extraordinary light on the whole affair. Whatever may be said of its credibility, the utter absence of any allusions to the United States is significant. Had the Liberator entertained in reality any such notions about this country and its supposedly evil relation to the Congress as have been ascribed to him by his misinterpreters of later days, they surely would have appeared in the intimate conversations of the "Diario de Bucaramanga". According to Perú de Lacroix, Bolívar remarked on May 25:

Some have said, and others still believe . . . that that meeting of American plenipotentiaries is a ridiculous imitation of the Congress

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 176-177.

<sup>54</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*, etc., II. 643.

<sup>55</sup> August 8, 1826. *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXX. 256.



of Vienna which brought forth the Holy Alliance of Europe. Those who believe it are mistaken, and none more so than the Abbé de Pradt, with the fine things that he said about that Congress,<sup>56</sup> and proved that he does not know America and its true social and political condition. When I initiated that Congress, for the assembling of which I worked so hard, it was only fanfaronade that I knew would not be successful; but I judged it diplomatic and necessary in order that Colombia might be talked about, that all America might be shown to the world united in a single policy, a common interest and a powerful confederation. I repeat, it was fanfaronade, like my famous declaration of the year 1818, published at Angostura, November 20, 1820, in which I not only declared the independence of Venezuela, but defied Spain, Europe and the world. . . . With the Congress of Panama I wanted to make a noise, to make the name of Colombia and that of the other American republics resound, to discourage Spain, to hasten the recognition [of independence] it should have made, and that, also, of the remaining powers of Europe; but never did I imagine that there might come from it an American alliance like that set up by the Congress of Vienna. Mexico, Chile and La Plata cannot help Colombia, nor Colombia them, all their interests are diverse, except that of independence; only diplomatic relations can subsist among them, but no close relationship, except in appearance.<sup>57</sup>

Mention has already been made of Bolívar's desire for an alliance with the United States as well as England. Time and again in his printed correspondence he expressed a wish for its aid, confided in its protection, sought its mediation and valued its opinion of him. In the "Jamaica letters" he wrote:

We hoped with good reason that all the civilized nations would hasten to our help so that we might attain a welfare, the advantages of which are reciprocal to both hemispheres. And yet, what disappointed hopes! Not only the Europeans, but even our brothers of the North, have remained passive spectators in this combat.<sup>58</sup>

. . . . .

We are abandoned by the whole world. No foreign nation has guided us with its wisdom and experience, or defended us with its arms,

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Memorias del General O'Leary*, XII. 186-187, 194-233.

<sup>57</sup> "Cornelio Hispano" (Ismael López) ed., *Diario de Bucaramanga*, pp. 142-144.

<sup>58</sup> September 6, 1815. Blanco-Fombona ed., *Biblioteca Ayacucho: Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*, etc., I. 376.

or protected us with its resources. This did not happen in North America during its struggle for emancipation, although it had every kind of advantage over us; the three most powerful European nations, owners of colonies, aided it to gain its independence, and Great Britain has not resorted to reprisals against that very Spain which made war on it to deprive it of its colonies. . . .

The United States of the North, which through its commerce could have furnished elements of war, deprived us of them on account of its contest with Great Britain. Except for this, Venezuela alone would have triumphed, and South America would not have been desolated by Spanish cruelty or destroyed by revolutionary anarchy.<sup>59</sup>

Nine years later, in a letter to Olañeta, a Spanish general, he observed:

Perhaps you will not wish to believe me because you consider me an enemy; but what I am about to say is evident, well known and, so to speak, glaring in the eyes of all. Except for a part of Peru, the rest of the New World is ready for independence. England and the United States protect us.<sup>60</sup>

To Santander, March 11, 1825, he declared:

I believe that [Spanish] America can be saved with these four elements—first, a large army to overawe the enemy and defend us; second, a European policy to ward off the first blows; third, with England; fourth, with the United States. . . .

Puerto Cabello must be defended at all cost . . . while the English and Americans are favorable to us and will protect our convoys by sea in any event.<sup>61</sup>

During the troublous days of 1829, while the Liberator was still struggling manfully to avert the utter collapse of his political structure, he protested to Urdaneta:

I want peace at all hazards, but our enemies make us desperate with their cruel obstinacy.

<sup>59</sup> September 28, 1815. Blanco-Fombona, ed., *Cartas de Bolívar*, pp. 154, 155.

<sup>60</sup> Blanco-Fombona, ed., Biblioteca Ayacucho: *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur América*, etc., II. 319.

<sup>61</sup> *Memorias del General O'Leary: Cartas del Libertador*, XXX. 48, 49.

The government of Bolivia declared itself in favor of an alliance with Peru, which was natural to be supposed, and they even threaten us with Chile. I laugh at all the efforts of this crew when they can do nothing for themselves.

Buenos Aires has had several revolutions and the command has passed to other hands.

Bolivia has had three presidents in five days, killing two of them. Chile is in very inept and vacillating hands.

Mexico has caused the greatest scandal and has committed the worst crimes.

Guatemala adds to its difficulties.

All this makes me believe that this world of anarchy needs a foreign intervention that may serve to mediate in our differences and madnenses. Oh, that the United States would only do something with Peru, which has chosen it in mockery as a guarantor!<sup>62</sup>

. . . . .  
All that the Peruvians do favors our cause, for the world will know how great is the justice of it, and how infamous, the Peruvian government. What is more, the United States, as guarantor of the treaty of Girón, cannot help feeling indignant at the violators of it and taking our side. The present president of that country (General Jackson) is very well disposed to me.<sup>63</sup>

In the same strain he wrote to Montilla:

It appears that the North American government is thoroughly earnest in its service as mediator between ourselves and the Peruvians; accordingly one may feel assured that all the crimes [murder, pillage and arson] that I have just mentioned will strongly incline it to recognize the force of our contentions, and will have much weight in the balance of justice and policy.<sup>64</sup>

To Vergara he said:

Above all, I am infinitely pleased with what the American government has done in trying to adjust our affairs with Peru. Avail yourself of this opportunity to impress upon it the horrors committed by our

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, XXXI. 341.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 345, 346.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 350, 351.



enemies, so that it may adopt measures of conciliation capable of putting an end to our disagreements.<sup>65</sup>

I agree with you . . . about the mediation of the United States. I have acted and shall act with the greatest dignity, and more still with the Americans.<sup>66</sup>

How greatly Bolívar valued the good opinion of the United States during this fateful year of 1829 preceding his untimely death, is evident in his messages to his faithful friends and confidants, O'Leary and Belford Wilson. To the former he wrote:

It seems to me that I behold all hell breaking loose in abominations against me. My only consolation is the hope that you and Wilson will confront it and defend me.

In order to reconcile this defense with the interests of Colombia, I have appointed you minister to the United States, where my enemies will certainly try their best to tear me to bits, and where I most need some one to defend me.<sup>67</sup>

To the latter he made known his desire to seek refuge from all his toils and troubles in the land of Washington, his fellow liberator:

My authority is to end in the first days of the coming year, when the Constituent Congress meets, into whose hands I am going to relinquish the supreme command, resolved as I am never again to assume it.

And as this is my final resolve, probably your letter will be received in the United States shortly before the news arrives of my resignation.

I am thoroughly determined to go back to private life. Too much time have I lost serving men who, as Voltaire said, do not deserve to be commanded. Very soon, my dear Wilson, will you see me up there.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> April 12. *Ibid.*, 347. On April 29, also, Bolívar authorized Vergara to discuss privately with the diplomatic representatives of the United States and Great Britain at Bogotá the possibility of their aid in saving the country from the menace of anarchy and dissolution. A similar request appears in a letter of the Liberator's secretary, July 6.

<sup>66</sup> May 19. *Ibid.*, 384.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 478.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 463-464.

All the republics of Spanish America have their national heroes of the Revolution—Nariño, Miranda, Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins, Sucre, Artigas, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Morazán—and to all of them the people of the United States accord the recognition due their consummate valor, patriotism, and service in the cause of liberty. But, in the eyes of the friends and well wishers of Spanish America in the sister republic of the north, none of the heroes ranks higher in the gifts and attainments that distinguish the soldier and statesman than Simón Bolívar. Known to Europeans and Americans of his own day, and admired by them, more than any of his great companions in the struggle for independence, he won an appreciation that has steadily gathered lustre through the advancing years.

Some Spanish Americans there are who assert that foreigners are incapable of understanding the Liberator and hence of doing him justice. Because critics beyond the pale find blemishes in his character and achievements is proof, it would seem, that they do not value him in the full measure of his worth. But had Bolívar ranked with the angels in all their impeccability, he would not have been the fallible mortal to love and respect that posterity chooses. It was his faults, indeed, that exalted his virtues. To admit them is to condone them in the name of the ideals of liberty to which he consecrated his life. Knowing what Bolívar's real sentiments toward the United States were, the people of this country, in common with their fellow Americans throughout the New World, will make their homage to his memory all the more grateful.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

## SPANISH CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The originals of the three documents published herewith are in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, among the papers of legajo 87-1-6 of "Audiencia de Santo Domingo Luisiana y Florida. Espedientes y ordenes reservadas al Gobernador de la Luisiana sobre las Ocurrencias de Yngleses Colonos y Americanos. Años 1776 á 1779." There is a letter for each of the three years 1776, 1777, and 1778, the first being from Governor Luis de Unzaga y Amezaga to the minister José de Galvez in which was enclosed the copy of a letter by the same to Charles Lee, and the second and third being from Governor Bernardo de Galvez to the same minister in which were enclosed copies of letters to Colonel George Morgan and to Patrick Henry. All three documents show the interest that was being taken in the American Revolution by Spain and especially by Spanish officials in North America; and they show also something of the debt owed by the United States to Spain for the aid and encouragement received from that country. There are a number of transcripts in the Library of Congress and in Harvard University touching these same matters and Professor James A. James of Northwestern University has also gathered many for his special studies along these lines; while other documents will probably be found among the papers of the Ayer collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago. The documents are presented in the original Spanish with English translation.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.



## LETTERS BY GOVERNOR LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA

Numero 187.

[Docket]

El Gobernador de la Luisiana remite una carta del maior G.ral y Segundo en el mando militar de los Estados Unidos Americanos y Comandante y gefe del distrito del Sur con otra del Congreso que la autorisa que traxo un oficial de aq.l destino por la que solicitan establecer comercio sistematico; una copia de la respuesta que ha hecho; y añade las noticias que ha adquirido con las reflexiones que en virtud de ellas tiene hechas.

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Letter to J. de Galvez]

Ylustrisimo Señor

Señor: Por la adjunta carta y papel que la autoriza comprendera V. Yltma la pretension del General Don Carlos Lee maior General, y segundo en el mando militar al servicio de los Estados Unidos Americanos, y comandante en Jefe del distrito del Sud, por los motivos que expresa y ventajas a los intereses de S. M. con el comercio sistematico que intentan aquellos Americanos, juzgandose ya independientes, establecer en nuestros puertos, a la que he respondido en los terminos que contiene la copia que acompaño.

[TRANSLATION]

No. 187

[Docket]

The governor of Louisiana transmits a letter from the major general and second in the military command of the United States of America and commandant and chief of the Southern District, together with another letter from Congress authorizing the former (brought by an official of that station) and by which a systematic trade is petitioned; a copy of his reply; and in addition, the news which he has obtained together with the observations that he has made by virtue thereof.

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[Letter to J. de Galvez]

Excellency

Sir: By the enclosed letter and the paper authorizing the letter, you will learn the request of Major General Charles Lee, second in the military command of the United States of America, and commander-in-chief of the Southern District, by the reasons he alleges and the advantages that will accrue to his Majesty's interests from the systematic trade which those Americans, who already esteem themselves to be independent, are trying to establish in our ports. To this letter I have made reply as per the accompanying copy.

El que me entrego dicha carta se me presentó desfrazado en traje de un Ciudadano con vestido humilde dejando el bote que lo conducia fuera de la villa, que hize venir a el surgidero que se halla frente la casa en que vivo despues de instruido del motivo de su mision y caracter de capitan de una de las compañías que han levantado las provincias unidas, titulo con que se presentan al theatro de este mundo.

Examinado dize que solicitan con ansia la proteccion de España y Francia a cuias colonias pasa para hacerles saber su independència con igual carta a la que me entrego: Que el exercito compuesto de tropas con nombre del continente asiende a ochenta mil combatientes que se proponen mantener tanto en tiempo de guerra como en el de paz, al sueldo de los fondos de la nacion y el de tropas provinciales que son las que cada provincia ha levantado a sus espensas, con mas veinte mil hombres de tropas lijeras q.e ellos llaman de un minuto por que en el deven marchar a donde lo pidan la necesidad, componen ciento y treinta mil sin contar las milicias destinadas a defender sus respectivos territorios de los insultos de los Yndios

## [TRANSLATION]

He who delivered the above mentioned letter to me presented himself to me in the disguise of an humbly-clad citizen. He left the boat in which he came outside the city, but I had it brought to the anchoring place opposite the house in which I am living after I had learned the reason for his mission and been informed of his rank as captain of one of the companies raised by the United Provinces—that being the title under which those provinces make their bow in the theater of this world.

Upon being questioned, he declares that the provinces anxiously beg the protection of Spain and France, to the colonies of the latter of which he is going in order to inform them of the independence of those provinces by means of a letter similar to the one he gave me; that the army composed of troops called "continental troops" amounts to eighty thousand combatants who propose to maintain themselves both in war and peace times by pay from the national funds, while the army of the provincial troops, comprised of those raised by each province at its own expense, together with twenty thousand other light armed troops, called "minute men" by them because they must be ready to march in a minute wherever need requires, number one hundred and thirty thousand, without taking into account the militia whose duties are to defend their respective territories from Indian outrages.

[He declares] that they propose also to descend the river next spring with a heavy detachment in order to lay waste and seize the land occupied by various Englishmen living between Manchak, 35 leagues from this city on the right bank of this river and the river called Ohio, and to pass through Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain situated two leagues to the back of us, in order to capture Mobile and Pensacola for the purpose of rendering their port useless so as to prevent an attack from the English by sea.

Que se proponen igualmente vajar la proxima primavera con un grueso destacamento, para desalojar y tomar posesion del terreno que ocupan varios Yngleses de el Manchak 35 leguas distante de esta villa en la margen derecha de este Rio, hasta el nombrado Ohio, y pasar por los Lagos Mourepas y Pontchartren que estan a dos leguas de nuestra espalda a tomar la Movila y Pansacola, con intento de inutilizar su puerto para precaverlo de su atacado por mar:

La facilidad que tienen de introducirse en este Rio y desender a ponerse en seis dias delante de esta plaza, sin poderlo saver ni precaver Siempre lo he rezelado, pues al mismo tiempo que ellos llegará el aviso de nuestros puestos que es imposible lo execute antes por tierra por lo inaccesible del pais segun tengo participado, y ahora lo ejecuto de estar construyendo baterias sobre dicho Rio para colocar los unicos veinte cañones de a 18 que tiene S.M. en esta Provincia, para con mas seguridad de la tropa que las sirva, defenderla de qualquier insulto a que puedan resistir sus fuerzas y para el mismo intento me parece combeniente, si es de la aprobacion del Rey se destine a esta rada la fragata el Bolante o Chambequin que por lo poco que calan podra entrar por las pasas de este Rio la que se destinase al mando del capitan de Fragata Don Joseph Melchor de Acosta que como practico de el podra ser mas util al servicio, en caso que intente alguna enbarcacion de guerra de uno u otro partido Yngles oponerse a las operaciones que segun los accidente[s] que ocurran me sea indispensable executar.

Dize dicho embaxador de las colonias del norte que no siendoles favorable a sus instancias la ultima decision de la Corte de Londres

[TRANSLATION]

I have always feared the ease with which they can enter this river and descend in six days' time as far as this town without us being able to know of it or to prevent it; and coincident with their arrival will come the news from our posts, for it is impossible to bring news earlier overland because of the inaccessibility of the country as I have already informed you. Now I am making it possible by constructing batteries on the abovesaid river for the placing of the only twenty 18-pound cannons belonging to his Majesty in this province, in order that the troops serving them may defend the province more safely from any insult to which their forces may be opposed. For the same reason, I consider it advisable, if the King approve, for the frigate *Bolante* or *Chambequin* to be assigned to this roadstead, for by reason of their slight draft, they are able to enter the passes of this river. The frigate should be placed under command of Frigate Captain Don Joseph Melchor de Acosta, who may be more useful to the service, because of his practical knowledge of the river, in case any warship belonging to either English side attempt to offer opposition to the works which it is absolutely necessary for me to execute because of the accidents that may happen.

Said envoy of the northern colonies says that since the last decision of the London Court was unfavorable to their petitions, they had tried to destroy

intentaron destruir la ciudad de Boston que tenian bloqueada cuio Gobernador noticioso la evacuo en una noche transfiriendose con toda su guarnicion a Alifas que se halla en el Golfo de San Lorenzo: Que Charleston en Virginia fue atacado por dos fragatas de 50 cañones siete de 40 y ciento y treinta embarcaciones que transportavan seis mil hombres, Municion de boca y guerra que una de las dos primeras que fondearon vaxo el cañon de la fortificacion fue encendiada por las valas roxas con que esta le hizo fuego, obligando a la otra y demas Naos de la expedicion retirarse con tanta escarmiento quanta confianza tenian de introducirse por esta parte que creian la mas flaca.

El correo mensual que viene de la Havana a esta en las embarcaciones de su comercio se atrasa quatro y cinco meses como acontecio el año proximo pasado por no haber embarcacion destinada para conducirlo lo que puede resultar en las presentes circunstancias notable perjuicio al Servicio de S.M. si no se digna dar la orden al administrador de correos de la Havana p.a que quando no se presente embarcacion de este comercio havilite una para este efecto.

Con quantas embarcaciones Ynglesas han pasado por esta Capital les he dado la hospitalidad que me han pedido y conservado la neutralidad que me he propuesto afin de no dar motivos de queja a uno ni otro partido pero como puede ofrecerse en lo venidero, lanze que me sea preciso inclinar la balanza a la parte que juzgue mas ventajosa al

## [TRANSLATION]

the city of Boston which they held blockaded. Its governor, [however], informed of the blockade, evacuated Boston one night and transferred himself and all the garrison to Halifax located on the Gulf of St. Lawrence. [He says] that Charleston, Virginia, was attacked by two frigates carrying 50 cannons, seven carrying 40, and one hundred and thirty ships carrying six thousand men and food and war materials. One of the two first which anchored under the cannon of the fort was set afire by the redhot balls shot at it from the fort, whereat the other vessel and the remaining ships taking part in the expedition had to retire with as much caution as the confidence they had exhibited in going to a place which they believed to be very weak.

The monthly mail sent from Havana to this city in trading ships of the former city is four or five months behind time. It happened last year because there was no vessel ready to carry the mail. This may cause considerable harm to his Majesty's service in the present state of affairs, unless his Majesty condescend to order the mail administrator in Havana to provide a ship especially for this purpose when no trading ship appears.

I have given all the English ships that have passed by this capital the hospitality which they have requested, and I have kept the neutrality that I had proposed to myself, in order not to give reasons for complaint to either side; but since something may happen in the future that may make it necessary for



servicio de S. M. Suplico a V. Yltma. me haga saver sus R.les intenciones para su cumplimiento y acierto en este delicado y prolixo asunto.

Dios nuestro Señor guarde la menesterosa persona de V. Yltma los muchos años q.e puede: Nueva Orleans 7 de Septiembre de 1776.

Ylustrisimo Señor

Besa la mano de V. Yltma  
su mas rendido servidor.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA (rubric)

[Addressed:] Ylustrisimo Señor Don Joseph Galvez.

[Royal instructions]

Enterado el Rey de todo aprueba su re[s]puesta al General Lee y manda prevenir a este Gov.o que insistiendo los Americanos en su propuesta de tomar a Panzacola y los demas establecimientos Yngleses en la orilla derecha de aquel Rio, se le[s] manifieste con la mayor cautela y secreto que el Rey celebrará que lo consigan y que asegurado su independencia se tratara de la entrega que prometen a favor de la España. Que para facilitar ambos objetos se advierta tambien al Gov.r de Luisiana, que irá recibiendo por la Havana y quantos medios sean posibles los socorros de Armas, municiones, ropas y Quina que piden los colonos Yngleses y se le prefiriran los modos mas sagazes y

[TRANSLATION]

me to tip the scales in favor of the side which I judge to be more advantageous to his Majesty's service, I beg you to inform me of the royal intentions in order that I may perform them to the letter in this delicate and troublesome matter.

May God our Lord keep your necessary person the many years that he is able. New Orleans, September 7, 1776.

Excellency,

Your most humble servant  
kisses your hand,

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA (rubric)

[Addressed:] His Excellency Señor Don Joseph Galvez.

[Royal instructions]

The king having gone over everything, approves his reply to General Lee. He orders this government that if the Americans persist in their plan to seize Pensacola and the other English settlements on the right bank of that river, declaration be made to them under the greatest caution and secrecy that the king will be glad to see them succeed, and that as soon as their independence is assured the transfer that they promise in favor of Spain will be discussed. In order to facilitate both objects, the governor of Louisiana is also to be advised that he will obtain through Havana and by as many other ways as possible, aid in arms, ammuniton, clothing, and quinine asked for by the English colonies.

secretos para que ocultamente los haga suministrar con apariencias de venderse los comerciantes particulares, a cuyos fines se enviaran la correspondiente Ynstruccion reservada y alguna persona de comercio que sirva de testa de fierro. Dize 23 de 76.

Pongase aviso reservado al Governador de la Havana previniendole que por los correos mens[u]ales y por embarcaciones del comercio libre recibira various efectos armas y otros generos que ira remitiendo sin retardacion al de la Luisiana; y que tambien le e[n]vie desde luego el sobrante de polvora que tenga en aquella Plaza de la fabrica de Mexico y el que huviere de fusiles en aquella Plaza en la seguridad de que se la remplazaran prontamente.

Esta disposicion debe tambien participarse al Governador de la Luisiana.

Fho todo en 24 de Diziembre de 1776.

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[Letter to Lee]

Exmo Señor

Mui Señor mio: La apreciable de V E he recibido, e instruido de su contesto despues de darles gracias por lo que se interesa en el bien de la Nacion Española y por la solicitud de su amistad a la que deseamos corresponder con la maior sinceridad y buena fe, dire que me es imposible asentir al comercio Sistemático que proponen las provincias

[TRANSLATION]

The most prudent and secret methods are to be preferred by him so that he may secretly supply them in such a way that these things shall appear to be sold to them by private traders. For this purpose the proper secret instructions shall be sent, and some trader who is to be used as a stool pigeon. December 23, 1776.

Send secret advice to the governor of Havana advising him that he is to receive through the monthly mails and by means of free trade various effects consisting of arms and other goods, which he is to continue to transmit without delay to the governor of Louisiana; also that he send immediately to the latter the rest of the powder from the factory in Mexico that he has in that place as well as all the guns there, under assurance that they are to be replaced promptly.

This order is also to be sent to the governor of Louisiana.

All dated December 24, 1776.

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[Letter to Lee]

Excellency

Dear Sir: I have received your Excellency's favor, and have taken note of its contents. After having thanked you for your interest in the welfare of the Spanish nation and for your request for friendship with that nation, to which we desire to respond with the greatest sincerity and good faith, I shall say that it is impossible for me to assent to the systematic trade which the American prov-

americanas establecer con nosotros, no obstante las ventajas que nos resultaran de su separacion de la Gran Bretaña, sin consultarlo con mi Soberano el Rey de España a fin de que se digne hacerme saber sus Reales intenciones sobre un asunto que es en el dia el objeto de toda la Europa sin que en el interin deje de ofrecer a V E mis facultades para que las emplee en lo que fuere de su agrado y obsequio como en Servicio y bien de las Provincias seguro de mi buen deseo en complacerla como podra testificar el embajador de ellas a quien he prestado mis auxilios y franqueandoles los arbitrios que pueden facilitarle sus intentos de socorrerlos.

Dios guarde a V S los muchos años que puede Nueve Orleans 4 de Septiembre de 1776.

Blm de V E

su mas atento servidor.

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

[Addressed:] Exmo Señor Don Carlos Lee

LUIS DE UNZAGA (rubric)

[TRANSLATION]

inces propose to establish with us, notwithstanding the advantages which would ensue to us in the separation of those provinces from Great Britain, before consulting thereon with my Sovereign, the King of Spain, in order that he may condescend to inform me of his royal intentions in regard to a matter which is the object of all Europe at the present time, in the meanwhile, however, not neglecting to offer you my services for employment by you in accordance with your good pleasure and desire as well as for the advantage and benefit of those provinces, being assured of my good will to please you, as can be testified by the ambassador of those provinces, to whom I have lent my aid, and to whom I have granted the means that may expedite for him his purpose of succoring those provinces.

May God keep your Excellency the many years that He is able. New Orleans, September 4, 1776.

Your most attentive servant  
kisses your hands,

LUIS DE UNZAGA Y AMEZAGA.

[Addressed]: His Excellency, Mr. Charles Lee.

LUIS DE UNZAGA (rubric)

## •LETTERS BY GOVERNOR BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, 1777.

Numero 78.

[Docket]

Remite el Governador de la Luisiana copia traducida de una carta que ha recibido del Coronel Don Jorge Morgan comandante por los Colonos del Fuerte Pitt y otra de la respuesta que le ha hecho.

[Letter to J. de Galvez]

Ylustrisimo Señor

Mui Señor mio: Paso a V Yltma la adjunta copia traducida de la carta que he recibido de Don Jorge Morgan Coronel en el Servicio de las Provincias unidas y Comandante del fuerte Pitt, en la que me da las gracias por los favores concedidos en esta Plaza al comisionado que vino en solicitud de municiones y efectos (que llego felizmente a su destino): Hace una relacion mui detallada de los sucesos de las armas de uno y otro partido en los varios ataques que han tenido desde el principio de esta guerra y concluie manifestandome muchos deseos de tener noticias del estado actual de la Ciudad de Panzacola en sus fortificaciones, situacion, y fuerzas Navales que guardan aquellas costas y pidiendome si aqui se le podra facilitar comprar o fletar Barcos para hirla a sorprender, pero que para ello sera preciso

[TRANSLATION]

Number 78.

[Docket]

The Governor of Louisiana transmits a translated copy of a letter received from Col. George Morgan, commander for the colonies of Fort Pitt, and another copy of his answer thereto.

[Letter to J. de Galvez]

Excellency

Dear Sir: I am transmitting to your Excellency the enclosed copy of a translation of the letter which I received from George Morgan, Colonel in the service of the United Provinces and commander of Fort Pitt, thanking me for the favors shown in this town to the agent who came here to petition munitions and materials (who reached his destination in safety). He narrates in great detail the results achieved by both sides in the various attacks made since the beginning of this war, and ends by telling me of his great desire to be informed of the actual condition of the city of Pensacola in regard to its fortifications, situation, and the naval strength guarding those coasts, and by asking me whether he may hope for aid from here in buying or chartering vessels in order to go thither to take it by surprise; but [saying] that in order to do that it must be with my consent,



sea con mi acuerdo, permiso y concurrencia y que en caso que no lo pudiese lograr Suplica la libertad de tratar y comerciar con esta jurisdiccion. A lo que le respondi en los terminos que esplica la otra copia que tambien dirijo a V Yltma para que S M quede instruido de todo y me prevenga lo que fuere de su Real agrado.

Nuestro Señor guarde a V Yltma los m.s años que deseo. Nueva Orleans 9 de Agosto de 1777.

Yltmo Señor

B L M de V S Y

su mas at.o servidor

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ (rubric)

[Addressed:] Yltmo Señor Don Joseph de Galvez.

[Royal endorsement]

Enterado el Rey aprueba lo hecho y respondido por su Governador como arreglado a las orns. que tiene para dar socorros y auxilios sin comprometerse en ellos. 22 de Diciembre.

Fecho en 23 del mismo mes.

[Letter to Morgan]

Muy Señor mio: He tenido el gusto de recibir la carta de V S su fha 22 de Abril ultimo a la que respondo capitulo por capitulo y no se

[TRANSLATION]

permission, and aid, and in case he can not obtain this, he requests permission to traffic and trade with this district. To this I made answer as per the other copy which I am also sending to your Excellency in order that his Majesty may have full information and may order me to act in accordance with his royal pleasure.

May our Lord preserve your Excellency the many years that I wish. New Orleans, August 9, 1777.

Excellency,

Your most obedient servant

kisses your Excellency's hands,

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ (rubric)

[Addressed]: His Excellency, Señor Don Joseph de Galvez.

[Royal endorsement]

The King having been informed, approves what was done by the governor and his answer, as they were in accordance with his orders to give aid and succor without compromising himself therein. December 22.

Given on the 23d of the same month.

[Letter to Morgan]

Dear Sir: I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter, dated April 22d last, and I am answering the same section by section. Do not wonder at its

estrañe V S de su poca claridad pues el motivo es para evitar reconven-  
 ciones si esta mia es interceptada pero como me persuado que V S  
 se habra quedado con copia de la suia cotejando sus asuntos con los de  
 esta nada se ocultara a la penetracion de V S. Mucho me alegro del  
 feliz arribo a ese destino del comisionado con lo que llevaba y siempre  
 que V S determine embiar por otra remisa que cita quedara servido  
 respecto a que por servir á V S he solicitado por mi mismo y tengo en  
 mi poder quanto se pedia por la primera pretension sobre lo que esti-  
 mare a V S pase aviso a los que la hicieron. Me ha sido de grande  
 satisfaccion las noticias que V S me comunica y este en la inteligencia  
 que sus propios deseos son los mios. En quanto a el alquiler o compra  
 que V S pretende y que la ejecucion de su proyecto ha de ser con mi  
 acuerdo, permiso y concurrencia, aunque me alegrara mucho no puedo  
 entrar en ella, pero V S puede entenderse si gusta con el mismo sugeto  
 residente en esta ciudad que se empleo para la comision pasada que es  
 uno de los mas interesados quedando V S asegurado de que le fran-  
 queare mi permiso y todo el auxilio de que sea capaz sin embargo de  
 que al parecer me dare por desentendido. El comercio que V S desea  
 con esta jurisdiccion lo puede hacer entablar desde el punto que  
 quiera o le convenga seguro de que los que lo hayan seran bien

## [TRANSLATION]

lack of clearness, since my reason [therefor] is to avoid accusations should this  
 letter of mine be intercepted. However, I am persuaded that you will have  
 kept a copy of your letter so that by collating its contents by the contents of  
 this letter, there will be nothing hidden from your penetration. I am greatly  
 rejoiced to know of the safe arrival of the agent at that place with what he carried.  
 Whenever you determine to send the other remittance of which you speak, you  
 shall be served. In regard to this, in order to be of service to you, I have myself  
 requested and have in my possession everything asked for in the first petition,  
 and I shall appreciate your informing those who made the request. The news  
 that you communicate to me have been of peculiar satisfaction to me, and you  
 may be assured that your own desires are mine also. In regard to the hir-  
 ing or purchase that you petition, and the execution of your plan which is to  
 be with my consent, permission, and aid, although I should be very glad, I may  
 not take part therein, but you may, if you please, come to an agreement with  
 the same person resident in this city who was employed for the past commission.  
 That person is one of the most interested, and you may be assured that I shall  
 lend him my permission and all the aid that I can, notwithstanding that I shall  
 apparently feign not to understand anything about the matter. The trade  
 desired by you with this district may be undertaken from whatever point you  
 wish or is most convenient to you and you may be sure that those who take part  
 in it, shall be welcomed and well received by me, and I shall be responsible for  
 everything. For fear lest the matters of which we treat may be discovered and

acojidos y recibidos por mi asiendome responsable de todo. Por temor de que los asuntos de que tratamos se descubran y malogren hara V S de escribirme con el mismo embozo que yo hago siempre que o no sea muy seguro el portador de vuestra carta o que el asunto sea nuevo y necesite de toda su claridad para entenderse. Me ofresco a la disposicion de V S y le suplico me proporcione ocasiones de sus obsequios con las que tendre la complasencia de manifestarle mi sincero afecto interin ruego a Dios guarde a V S muchos años Nueva Orleans 9 de Agosto de 1777.

B L M de V S  
su mayor servidor  
BERNARDO DE GALVEZ

[Addressed:] Señor Don Jorge Morgan  
Es copia conforme al original.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ (rubric)

#### LETTERS BY GOVERNOR BERNARDO DE GALVEZ, 1778

Numero 201. Reservada.

[Docket]

El Gobernador de la Luisiana remite copia de una carta que le ha escrito el Gobernador de Virginia, la de la respuesta que le hiso y suplica la Real determinacion sobre las demandas que se le hase.

[TRANSLATION]

fail of success, will you write me under the same method of concealment that I always employ, whether or not the bearer of your letter is above reproach or whether or not the contents of it are new and explicit details are necessary for its understanding. I offer my services to you, and beg that you will give me the opportunity to render those civilities by which I shall have the pleasure of showing you my sincere regard. Meanwhile, I pray God to preserve you many years. New Orleans, August 9, 1777.

Your humble servant  
kisses your hands,  
BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

[Addressed]: Señor Don George Morgan.  
Copy in agreement with the original.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ (rubric).

Number 201. Secret.

[Docket]

The governor of Louisiana transmits a copy of a letter written him by the governor of Virginia, and his reply thereto, and petitions the royal will regarding the requests made him.

[Letter to J. de Galvez]

Excmo Señor.

Muy Señor mio: Yncluido a V S copia traducida de una carta que me ha escrito el Governador de la Provincia de Virginia Don Patricio Enrique que me entrego el Coronel al servicio de America Don David Rogers que llegó a esta Plaza con siete hombres en una Canoa el diez y siete del proximo pasado Septiembre con la de la respuesta que le he hecho afin que se sirva V S poner una y otra en noticia de S M. y comunicarme lo que tubiere a bien determinar sobre el prestamo que pide y reembolso que propone a cuia Real resolucion he remitido dicho Governador y si en lo demas de mi contestacion he acertado con las Soberanas intenciones.

Nuestro Señor guarde a V S los muchos años que deseo. Nueva Orleans 24 de Octubre de 1778.

Excmo Señor

B L M de V S

su mas atento Servidor

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ (rubric)

[Addressed:] Excmo Señor Don Joseph de Galvez

[Endorsement]

Enterado y aprobado 8 de Febrero. Fho en 10 de Febrero año de 1779.

[TRANSLATION]

[Letter to J. de Galvez]

Excellency

Dear Sir: I am enclosing to you a translated copy of a letter written me by the governor of the Province of Virginia, Mr. Patrick Henry. It was handed me by a colonel in the service of America, one Mr. David Rogers who reached this town with seven men in one canoe on the seventeenth of last September. I am also enclosing my reply to him, in order that you may please bring them both to his Majesty's notice and communicate to me the decision he may consider it fitting to make in regard to the loan that is asked and the reimbursement proposed. I have referred the said governor to his Majesty's royal decision; and, indeed, in the rest of my reply, I have acted in harmony with his Majesty's sovereign intentions.

May our Lord preserve you the many years that I desire. New Orleans, October 24, 1778.

Excellency

Your most attentive servant

kisses your Lordship's hands,

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ (rubric)

[Addressed]: Very Excellent Señor Don Joseph de Galvez.

[Endorsement]

Fully understood and approved. February 8. Dated February 10, 1779.



[Letter to Patrick Henry]

Muy Señor mio: Yego a esta Ciudad el Coronel Don David Rogers y puso en mis manos la carta [de] V S de 14 de Enero de este año á la que contestare capitulo por capitulo para mayor claridad pero antes permitame V S aplauda la eleccion que hizo del citado Coronel para comisionarle en asuntos tan importantes sus apreciables circunstancias lo hacen acreedor a una general estimacion, yo le he ofrecido mis servicios en cuanto pudiera necesitarlos pero en nada me ha ocupado que me deje el gusto de haberlo complacido.

Me dice V S en el primer capitulo de su carta que por razon de los inconvenientes que ofrece por mar la comunicacion de ese estado con esta Provincia se lisonjea podra establecerse por el Rio Misisipi entre los vasallos de mi Soberano y ese honrado pueblo con ventaja de ambos. Nada me serviria de mayor satisfaccion que el que esto se verificase pero en el dia ay un inconveniente que lo estorve, y es los Yngleses que estan establecidos y fortificados en Manchak y Natchez que seguramente mientras permanescan no permitiran baya ninguno Americano por el Rio, de cuia dificultad informaria a V S el Coronel Rogers que no con poco peligro pudo llegar a esta Plaza. Me sirve de singular complasencia lo que me expone en su segundo capitulo y estoy persuadido que con el valor perseverancia y demas auxilios lograran

[TRANSLATION]

[Letter to Patrick Henry]

Dear Sir: Yesterday Colonel David Rogers reached this city and delivered to me your letter of January 14 of this year. I shall answer your letter section by section for the sake of greater clearness. However, first permit me to extol your choice of the abovementioned colonel as agent in matters of so great importance. His excellent qualities cause him to be generally esteemed. I have offered him my services in whatever he may need, but in nothing has he occupied me so that I might have the pleasure of having pleased him.

In the first section of your letter, you say that because of the obstacles offered by sea for the communication of that state and this province, you flatter yourself that communication might be established by way of the Mississippi River between my sovereign's subjects and that honored people, to the advantage of both. Nothing could give me greater happiness than to see this become a fact, but at present there is one difficulty that prevents it, namely, the English who are settled and fortified at Manchak and Natchez. Certainly so long as they remain, they will not permit any American to descend the river. Of this difficulty, Colonel Rogers, who was able to reach this town only after encountering not slight danger, can inform you. What you write in your second section gives me singular pleasure, and I am certain that those Provinces will obtain their desire if they exercise valor and perseverance, and obtain other aid. I thank you exceedingly for the offerings of friendship that you make me, and I doubt not

esas Provincias enteramente Su deseo. Doi a V S las mas expresivas gracias por los ofrecimientos de amistad que me dispensa y no dudo estará persuadido que los mios son los mas sinceros. En el 4° capitulo me pide V S examine si uniendo la West florida a la confederacion de esos Estados no se verian reducidos a la extremidad los establecimientos Yngleses, si se cortarian los progresos de su rivalidad con la España y que está informado sacan del Misisipi muchas maderas provisiones y otros varios efectos lo que pueden atajar facilmente los Americanos si la España lo aprueba. No ofrece la menor duda que si se separase la Westflorida de la Dominacion Britanica se quitaria a los Yngleses toda comunicacion con los puertos del Seno Mexicano desde donde pueden intentar algunas expediciones igualmente todos los provechos que sacan del Misisipi seguramente no creo que desapruue la España antes por el contrario es mui regular que lo desee. Me dice V S en el 5° capitulo que para asegurar la correspondencia con la Nueva Orleans sera necesario construir un fuerte en algun pasage de la desembocadura del Hoyo y que unicamente dependera de lo que yo le responda sobre el asunto; El establecimiento de este fuerte lo considero mui util para facilitar la navegacion del Rio Misisipi pues aunque en el dia no se puede practicar si no se quitan los inconvenientes que dejo detallados en el primer capitulo de esta carta siempre servira para contener los Yndios amigos de los Yngleses que sin aquel auxilio se atreverian mas

## [TRANSLATION]

that you will be assured that my offerings are most sincere. In the 4th section, you ask me to consider whether in the event of joining West Florida to the confederacy of those states, the English settlements would not be reduced to an extremity and the progress of their rivalry with Spain cut off, and [say] that you understand that the English are getting considerable timber, provisions, and various other things from the Mississippi, which, if Spain approves of it, the Americans may attack easily. There is not the slightest doubt that if West Florida is cut off from British domination, the English would be deprived of all communication with the ports of the Gulf of Mexico whence they might attempt certain expeditions, as well as all the advantages that they are getting from the Mississippi river. Indeed, I do not believe that Spain will disapprove this; on the contrary, it is quite the thing for Spain to desire it. In your 5th section, you say that in order to assure communication with New Orleans, it will be necessary to build a fort at some point at the mouth of the Ohio, and that it only depends on my answer to you in regard to this matter. I consider the establishment of this fort very useful for facilitating the navigation of the Mississippi River, for although at the present time it can not be done unless the difficulties noted above in the first section of this letter are removed, yet it will always be of use in restraining the Indian allies of the English, who without that aid would

facilmente a incomodar a los que viajasen de una parte a otra. Me expresa V S igualmente que para remediar la falta de lanas lienzo y municiones que padece esa provincia por lo infestado que se hallan los mares de los corsarios Yngleses me envia el Coronel Rogers a que le entregue los efectos que llo tengo para ese Estado a lo que devo informarle es cierto tenia acopiados una porcion de dichos efectos pero como ya yo se lo habia participado al Congreso y este me aviso los entregase a Don Olivero Pollock su agente en esta ciudad hace mucho tiempo que los recibio y los ha enviado a esos Estados en las ocasiones mas seguras que tanto por mar como por el Rio se le han presentado. No tiene duda que la guerra tan dilatada que han sostenido esos Estados les habra ocasionado innumerables gastos y siento no poder condesender por mi a la peticion que V S me haze de adelantarle ciento y cinqueto mil doblones Pistoles este es asunto que enteramente pende de mi Soberano a quien embiare la carta de V S para que determine lo que fuere de su Real agrado y segun lo que me ordenare avisare a V S con la maior prontitud; si la cantidad no fuese tan considerable y yo no hubiere dado a Don Olivero Pollock el dinero de que podia disponer por sobrante del que tiene asignado anualmente esta Provincia para su subsistencia desde luego por complacer a V S y servir a ese Estado me hubiera determinado á franquearle alguna parte pero

## [TRANSLATION]

more readily dare to molest those traveling from one part to the other. You say also in your letter that in order to remedy the lack of wool, linen, and munitions from which that province is suffering, because of the degree to which the seas are infested by the English pirates, you are sending Colonel Rogers to me to whom I may hand the effects which I have for that State. In reply I must inform you that it is true that I had gathered together a part of the said articles, but since I had already informed the Congress thereof, and that body advised me to deliver them to Mr. Oliver Pollock, its agent in this city, the latter received them long ago, and has already sent them to those States as the safest opportunities have offered, both by land and by the River. There is no doubt that the so prolonged war sustained by those States must have occasioned them innumerable expenses; and I am sorry that I can not of my own accord assent to your request to advance you one hundred and fifty thousand pistoles. This is a matter that hinges entirely on my sovereign to whom I shall send your letter so that he may decide it according to his royal pleasure. In accordance with his orders, I shall advise you with the greatest dispatch. Were the amount not so large, and had I not given to Mr. Oliver Pollock the money that I was able to take from the surplus remaining from the sum assigned annually to this Province for its maintenance, I should immediately have resolved to send you a part of

en el dia me es imposible por no tener fondo. V S me expone que es regular quiera informarme que es lo que tiene que dar en recompensa de estas anticipaciones y me ofrece el agradecimiento de ese Pais el comercio de una o todas sus ricas producciones y la amistad de sus havitantes. Todo el mundo conoce la generosidad de mi Soberano y que su principal interes sera la Gloria de haver facilitado sus auxilios a una Nacion necesitada. He tenido con el Coronel Rogers varias conferencias sobre el estado de esa guerra y otros puntos de todo lo que informara a V S á su arribo a esa Provincia. Veo con mucha satisfaccion la numerosa poblacion de ese estado y sus adelantamientos en la agricultura y no dudo que en poco tiempo los esperimentara en las manufacturas. Como los generos y efectos que tenia en esta Ciudad fueron destinados al congreso y el prestamo que V S solicita pende de mi Soberano, si su magestad tiene a bien concederselo señalara de las producciones de ese pais que le adacte para su reintegro. Tengo escrito a V S hasta en triplicado en contestacion de otra que recibí suia con fecha de 20 de Octubre del año proximo pasado y como es regular llegue alguna a su poder no repito en esta lo que dije entonces. Deseo a V S los mayores exitos en el Gobierno de esa Provincia, y celebrare me emplee en quan contribuia a su obsequio.

## [TRANSLATION]

it in order to please you and to render that State a service, but this is impossible for me at the present time, as there is no money. You say that it is quite proper that I should desire to know what you have to give as a recompense for these advances, and that the gratitude of that country offers me trade in one or all of its rich products and the friendship of its inhabitants. The whole world knows of the generosity of my Sovereign, and that his chief concern will be the glory of having lent his aid to a needy nation. I have had several conversations with Colonel Rogers in regard to the condition of that war and other matters of which he will inform you when he reaches that Province. With considerable satisfaction I see the dense population of that state and its progress in agriculture, and I doubt not that in a short time it will experience the same progress in manufactures. Since the goods and effects that I had in this city were intended for the Congress, and the loan that you request depends on my Sovereign, if his Majesty considers it fitting to grant it, he will point out the products of that country which will suffice for its return. I wrote you in triplicate my reply to your other letter of October 20 of last year, and since it is to be supposed that one of them will have reached you, I shall not repeat in this letter what I said in that. I wish you the greatest amount of success in the government of that Province, and I shall be glad to employ myself in whatever may contribute to serve you.



Dios guarde a V S muchos años Nueva Orleans 19 de Octubre de 1778.

B L M de V S

su mas atento servidor.

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

[Addressed:] Señor Don Patricio Henrique

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[Endorsement]

Es copia conforme al original que para en esta secretaria de Gobierno de mi cargo. Nueva Orleans 24 de Octubre de 1778.

JOSEPH FOUCHER (rubric)

[TRANSLATION]

May God keep you many years. New Orleans, October 19, 1778.

Your most obedient servant  
kisses your hands,

BERNARDO DE GALVEZ.

[Addressed:] Mr. Patrick Henry.

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[Endorsement]

A copy in accordance with the original which is in this office of the government under my charge. New Orleans, October 24, 1778.

JOSEPH FOUCHER (rubric)

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Guide to the law and legal literature of Argentina, Brazil and Chile.* By EDWIN M. BORCHARD, Professor of Law, Yale University; formerly Law Librarian, Library of Congress (1911-1916). [Library of Congress]. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917. Pp. 523. Spanish and Portuguese Glossaries. \$1.00)

*Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Spain.* Prepared under the Direction of Edwin M. Borchard . . . by THOMAS W. PALMER, JR., of the Birmingham, Ala., Bar. [Library of Congress.] (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915. Pp. 174. Glossary. \$0.50.)

De gran mérito y evidente utilidad es la obra emprendida por distinguidos juristas norteamericanos, bajo los auspicios de la Biblioteca del Congreso, con el objeto de presentar en forma breve y completa una guía bibliográfica de las obras de derecho y de los cuerpos legales de España y de los distintos países de Hispano América. Con los grandes recursos de que dispone tan poderosa institución, le ha sido posible reunir obras costosas o poco comunes y aun enviar a países extranjeros personas competentes exclusivamente dedicadas al estudio de las cuestiones de derecho y de la bibliografía jurídica, pudiendo poner a su servicio en esta labor a las mejores inteligencias del país.

La guía correspondiente a los tres países más poderosos de la América del Sur, Argentina, Brasil y Chile, es obra del Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, Profesor de Derecho en la Universidad de Yale, y por algún tiempo

### [TRANSLATION]

Of great merit and obvious utility is the work undertaken by distinguished jurists of North America, under the auspices of the Library of Congress, for the purpose of presenting briefly and completely a bibliographical guide to the works on law and on the legal bodies of Spain and of the several countries of Hispanic America. Thanks to the vast resources commanded by so powerful an institution, it has been possible for it to collect costly and little known works and even to send competent persons to foreign countries for the sole purpose of studying questions of law and of juristic bibliography, being enabled to obtain for this task the service of the best minds of the country.

The guide relating to the three most powerful countries of South America, namely, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, is the work of Dr. Edwin M. Borchard, Professor of Law in Yale University, and sometime librarian of the Law Division

bibliotecario del departamento de derecho de la Biblioteca del Congreso. Es fruto de los estudios del Dr. Borchard en la mencionada biblioteca y de los que realizó en un viaje especial a la América del Sur, durante el cual contó con la ayuda de prominentes juriseconsultos argentinos, chilenos y brasileños.

El ordenamiento de la materia es excelente por su método. Al tratar de cada uno de los países, después de una breve introducción en que se expone concisamente la organización política de ellos, se hace una enumeración de las obras de carácter bibliográfico publicadas, y que pueden servir de guía provisional al estudiante. Con excepción del Brasil, los países hispanoamericanos son bastante pobres en materia de bibliografías jurídicas; y aun el Brasil mismo no las posee en grado tal que resulte inútil la publicación de una obra como la que estamos analizando.

Entrando de lleno en el estudio de la legislación, el autor enumera las obras que de ella tratan, ya sea en lo relativo a las provincias o a los estados, según que se trate de la República Argentina o del Brasil, pues esta materia no puede tocarse en lo relativo a Chile, que posee un gobierno unitario, por constituir una república central. Después de citar con detalle las memorias de los tribunales, los digestos que de la jurisprudencia han hecho los diversos autores, así como las obras y periódicos legales, el libro ofrece una exposición de los libros de derecho

[TRANSLATION]

of the Library of Congress. The volume is the fruit of Dr. Borchard's study in the above named library and of his studies while on a special visit to South America, during which he was aided by prominent Argentinian, Chilean, and Brazilian jurists.

The arrangement of the materials is excellent as to method. In his treatment of each one of the countries, after a brief introduction, wherein the political organization is concisely set forth, a list is given of the published works of a bibliographical character which may be used by the student as a provisional guide. With the exception of Brazil, the Hispanic-American countries are quite poor in juristic bibliographical materials; and even Brazil itself does not possess them to such an extent as to render useless the publication of a book like the one under review.

Taking up in full the study of legislation, the author lists the works treating thereof, whether they relate to the provinces or to the states—so far as Argentina and Brazil are concerned, inasmuch as material of this class does not exist so far as Chile is concerned, that country being a centralized republic. After citing in detail court reports, digests of jurisprudence, made by various authors, as well as legal works and periodicals, the book sets forth books on law which are

que sirven para la preparación de los abogados y de los libros en que, de una manera bastante limitada todavía, aparecen las tentativas a reducir a sistema las jurisprudencias de países en donde la inspiración legal es predominantemente europea.

Por último aparecen catalogadas las obras que tratan de puntos particulares de derecho, y entre ellas figuran los códigos, con una breve exposición de su origen y evolución histórica. Ocupa el primer lugar el Código civil, al cual siguen el Código de Comercio, las leyes orgánicas de tribunales civiles, el Código de procedimientos civiles y las leyes relativas a la organización y el funcionamiento del notariado; el Código penal y el de procedimientos penales; el derecho constitucional, el derecho administrativo, las leyes militares, el derecho eclesiástico y por fin el derecho internacional público y privado. Casi todos los nombres de obras van acompañados de alguna brevísima observación relativa a los méritos personales del autor, a la reputación de la obra y al valor que ésta pueda tener para el estudiante de las leyes americanas.

En lo general el criterio que anima al autor es a un tiempo sólido, justo y reservado. Muy difícil sería señalar un sólo punto en el cual sus juicios pudieran merecer la tacha de apasionados. Quizás alguna que otra vez haya pecado por benevolencia, atribuyendo valor real a obras que carecen de él o que lo tienen sólo en grado muy relativo. La fecundidad de que algunos países dan muestra en la producción de

[TRANSLATION]

used in the preparation of lawyers, and books in which appear the attempts (still quite limited) to reduce to a system the jurisprudence of countries where the legal inspiration is preeminently European.

Lastly, is given a catalogue of the works treating of special points of law, among which are the codes, with a short explanation of their historical origin and evolution. The Civil Code holds first place. After it come the Commercial Code, the organic law of the civil courts, the Code of Civil Procedure, and the laws relating to the organization and working of the notarial profession; the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure; constitutional law, administrative law, military laws, ecclesiastical law, and lastly public and private international law. Almost all the titles of works are accompanied by a very brief remark touching the personal merits of the author, the reputation of the work, and its probable value to the student of American laws.

In general, the judgment exercised by the author is at once sound, just, and conservative. It would be very difficult to note one single point in which his judgment could merit being called prejudiced. He has perhaps sinned here and there through kindness, in attributing a real value to works which have no value, or which are of value only to a very limited degree. The fecundity ex-



obras de derecho débese principalmente a que los autores por regla general se dedican al estudio de puntos particulares, tratando de dejar agotada la materia y de producir obras de gran peso y autoridad. Labor es ésta meritoria, pero raras veces lucida y grata. Es trabajo de detalle, propio para espíritus minuciosos que quieren contribuir al acervo de la ciencia con algo muy pequeño, pero inquebrantable y definitivo. Las mentes septentrionales parecen estar especialmente organizadas para trabajos de esta naturaleza. No así los hombres de origen hispano, los cuales, con excepciones que es justo tener en cuenta, gustan más de las vastas perspectivas y de los caminos amplios y largos. Para que un punto particular atraiga el esfuerzo de sus investigaciones requiérese que dicho punto asuma proporciones tales que su mala interpretación sea de consecuencias muy trascendentales. Así se explica que el recurso de *amparo* haya dado fecundo tema a los juriconsultos mejicanos, y que en los momentos actuales sea objeto de brillantes disertaciones el artículo 74 del Reglamento Uniforme de La Haya sobre letras de cambio y pagarés. Pero, por regla general, los letrados sudamericanos hacen estudios completos sobre temas amplios; publican comentarios sobre los códigos o preparan ediciones anotadas de éstos, o escriben acerca de las doctrinas más en boga en Europa, o muestran de una u otra manera sus conocimientos, generalmente muy sólidos, y su criterio, las más de las veces bien ponderado y justo.

## [TRANSLATION]

hibited by some countries in the production of works on law, is due primarily to the fact that the authors as a general rule devote themselves to the study of individual points, trying to exhaust the subject and to produce works of great weight and authority. This is a meritorious task, but rarely is it pleasant and brilliant. It is a work of detail suitable for minute minds which desire to contribute to the sum total of knowledge a very slight but inviolable and definitive addition. Minds of the north seem to be peculiarly organized for tasks of this nature. Not so the men of Hispanic origin who, with exceptions that it is proper to keep in mind, enjoy rather vast perspectives and broad and long highways. In order that one special point may attract the effort of their investigations, it needs that said point assume proportions such that a poor interpretation of it may bear very serious consequences. Thus is explained the fact that the special feature called *amparo* has proven a fertile theme to Mexican jurists, and that at the present time, article 74 of the Uniform Regulations of The Hague on bills of exchange and promissory notes is the object of brilliant dissertation. But, as a general rule, South American lawyers make complete studies on broad themes. They publish commentaries on the codes or prepare annotated editions of them, or write about the doctrines more or less in vogue in Europe, or show their knowledge in one way or another, which is usually very solid, and their critical ability which is usually very weighty and sound.

Obras de esta naturaleza aparecen catalogadas por centenares en la guía de que hablamos y, como es natural, algunas de ellas no están a la altura que requiere un espíritu ilustrado. Al juzgarlas es donde, en nuestro concepto, podría tildarse al Dr. Borchard de benévolo, ya que rara vez expresa un juicio desfavorable en términos que alejaran al estudiante de toda investigación respecto a las obras mencionadas. Y en materia científica no hay derecho para ser benévolo.

Por otra parte, el autor tuvo que tropezar con el escollo natural en una "Guía," que tiene que ser algo más que un mero catálogo y algo menos que un estudio crítico. Lo primero no indicaría nada al estudiante. Lo segundo sería labor penosísima y larga, a más de inútil por lo que respecta a esa gran cantidad de libros que o son muy malos o no son suficientemente buenos para merecer los honores de la crítica. La difícil posición en que se encontró el autor lo llevó en muchos casos a la simple enumeración de obras, a veces acompañada de expresiones tales como "merece citarse" o "debemos tomar en cuenta", que no dicen nada, o a la emisión de juicios demasiado breves, lapidarios casi, que inspiran el deseo de una ulterior justificación, aun cuando sea muy breve. El autor de estas líneas tiene la satisfacción de conocer personalmente al Dr. Borchard y está seguro de que cuando él ha dicho algo, lo ha meditado y estudiado bien, y tiene peso y autoridad; pero el común de los lectores siente que algo falta. Es tendencia muy genera-

[TRANSLATION]

Works of this kind are listed by hundreds in the *Guide* which we are discussing, and as is natural, some of them do not reach the height demanded by an enlightened intellect. It is in the evaluating of them that, in our judgment, Dr. Borchard might be accused of kindliness, since he very rarely expresses an unfavorable opinion in terms that will prevent the student who is making any investigation from using the abovenamed works. In scientific matters, however, one has no right to exercise kindliness.

On the other hand, the author had to struggle with the natural embarrassments of a guide which must be something more than a mere catalogue and somewhat less than a critical study. The first would mean nothing to the student. The second would be a very tiresome and long task, and more than useless because of the very great number of books that are either very poor or not good enough to merit the honor of a criticism. The difficult position in which the author found himself led him in many instances to the simple listing of works, at times accompanied with expressions such as "deserves to be cited" or "we must take into account"—which mean nothing—or in the utterance of opinions that are too short—lapidary almost—which make one wish for further explanation, even though such be very brief. The author of the present lines has the satisfaction of knowing Dr. Borchard personally, and is sure that when Dr. Borchard has said anything, he has previously meditated over it and studied it at length, and

lizada la de esperar que quien cita autores exprese cuidadosamente la obra, la página, la línea, la edición, la casa editora y otros requisitos que demuestren su veracidad; y no existe en el mismo grado la exigencia de fundamentar todo juicio que se emite. Parécenos más necesario lo segundo que lo primero, ya que dudar de la afirmación de un hecho es casi ofensivo, mientras que pedir la explicación y los fundamentos de una opinión es una actitud propia del espíritu investigador. Pero, repetimos, esto no es falta del autor, sino, más bien, de la naturaleza de la obra.

Como es natural, este libro pone de manifiesto la influencia del derecho español en las repúblicas hispanoamericanas. Esa influencia es preponderante, pero ha sufrido no pocas modificaciones producidas por la naturaleza de la evolución sufrida en estos países desde la independencia hasta nuestros días, y por los estudios realizados por los letrados del siglo diecinueve y lo que va del siglo veinte en las legislaciones europeas, especialmente las de Alemania, Francia e Italia, y las de la España moderna, así como, y muy principalmente en lo que se refiere al derecho constitucional, en la legislación de los Estados Unidos de la América del Norte. Por supuesto que el derecho brasileño ha sufrido directamente la influencia de las leyes portuguesas, pero apenas parece necesario decir que en el fondo y en los orígenes

[TRANSLATION]

that what he says has weight and authority; but readers in general feel that there is something lacking. It is a very general tendency to expect that he who cites authors should carefully give the work, the page, the line, the edition, the publisher, and the other requisites that will prove his veracity; but that he is not under the same necessity of backing up every opinion that he expresses. The second seems to us more necessary than the first, since it is almost offensive to doubt the affirmation of a fact, while to ask for the explanation of an opinion and its foundation is the proper attitude of an investigating mind. But we repeat, this is not the fault of the author but of the nature of the work.

As is natural, this volume shows the influence of Spanish law on the Hispanic American republics. That influence is a preponderating one, but it has suffered not a few modifications which have been brought about by the nature of the evolution that has taken place in these countries from the era of independence to our own time, and by the studies made by lawyers in the nineteenth century and thus far in the twentieth century, of European legislation, especially the legislation of Germany, France, Italy, and of modern Spain, as well as, and very primarily of matters referring to constitutional law in the legislation of the United States of North America. Of course, Brazilian law has been directly influenced by Portuguese laws, but it scarcely seems necessary to say that there



no hay diferencias esenciales entre la influencia portuguesa y la influencia española propiamente dicha.

Con atinado criterio, el autor señala los autores de más sólida doctrina y las obras de mayor utilidad. Al mencionar el código civil brasileño, rinde el tributo merecido a Augusto Teixeira de Freitas, así como al mencionar el código civil chileno da el lugar que merece al ilustre americano Andrés Bello, una de las glorias más legítimas del continente. De esta manera, si no todo lo digno de censura es censurado, lo que es digno de alabanza es puesto en alto para conocimiento y admiración de los lectores. De aquí que, aun cuando no se llegue al estudio de las obras mencionadas en la Guía, la simple lectura de ésta basta para dar un concepto general de la no despreciable obra levada al cabo por los grandes juristas americanos.

Por el mismo estilo y conforme al mismo plan está escrita la Guía del Derecho y la Literatura Legal de España, por Palmer. Nótase en este libro una amplitud en la expresión de los juicios algo mayor que en el del Dr. Borchard, lo cual hace su lectura un poco más fácil para el lector común.

Ambos libros deben formar parte de la biblioteca de todo el que tenga interés en materias legales americanas, y deben ser consultados por todo el que quiera adquirir un conocimiento bastante aproximado

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is no essential difference at bottom and in origin between the Portuguese influence and the Spanish influence properly so called.

With accurate judgment, the author points out the authors of more sound doctrine and the most useful works. In mentioning the Brazilian civil code, he bestows merited tribute upon Augusto Teixeira de Freitas; as well as when mentioning the Chilean code, he gives the illustrious American, Andrés Bello, one of the most legitimate glories of the continent, the place that he merits. In this way, if all that deserves censuring is not censured, what is deserving of praise is brought out clearly to the gaze and admiration of readers. Thus, even if one do not study the works mentioned in the *Guide*, the mere reading of the *Guide* is enough to give one a general idea of the not despicable work accomplished by great American jurists.

In the same style and conforming to the same plan, is written Palmer's *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Spain*. It is to be noted that in this latter book, opinions are given at somewhat greater length than in the volume by Dr. Borchard, which makes its reading a bit easier for the general reader.

Both books should form part of the library of all persons who have an interest in American legal matters, and should be consulted by all persons who desire to obtain a sufficiently accurate knowledge of this important phase of the civiliza-



de esta faz importantísima de la civilización del continente y de la gloriosa península ibérica, a la cual debe su ser político y lo más característico de su cultura.

GUILLERMO A. SHERWELL.

[TRANSLATION]

tion of the continent and of the glorious Iberian Peninsula to which the continent owes its political existence and the most characteristic part of its culture.

GUILLERMO A. SHERWELL.

*Trade and navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs.* By CLARENCE HENRY HARING, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918. Pp. xxvii, 371. \$2.25)

*Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias.* By D. GERVASIO DE ARTIÑANO Y DE GALDÁCANO, Professor de la Escuela Central de Ingenieros Industriales. (Barcelona: Oliva de Vilanova, 1917. Pp. 350.)

Mr. Haring's book is a most valuable contribution to a fundamental part of Spanish-American History. The subject of which it treats has not received hitherto its due share of attention; the English accounts are meagre; the Spanish treatises, for the most part, antiquated. This neglect may be partly attributable to the peculiarly complicated nature of the topic. With bewildering frequency the Spanish Government altered its regulations respecting the American trade; its policies were unstable. Hence the subject does not lend itself to broad and general treatment. Mr. Haring has used what is probably the best method. Analysing his topic minutely, he traces, separately, the historical development of each of its many phases. He presents a great amount of detailed information, gathered from many sources, both printed and manuscript. For reasons given in his bibliography he has, when possible, avoided using the Laws of the Indies as a sole authority for any of his statements.

The book is divided into two main parts, dealing respectively with Trade and Navigation. The first chapter, on The Seville Monopoly, describes the policies of the Crown respecting the Indian trade before the creation of the Casa de Contratación; the establishing of the Casa at Seville; the rivalry of Cadiz; the liberal provision of 1529 which permitted vessels to sail from several other ports to the Indies; and the

special relations of the Canary Islands to the trade. The second chapter gives the early history of the Casa de Contratación, and the third traces its decadence, which ran a course parallel to that of the Spanish Government. Both suffered from the sale and purchase of offices, over-elaborate organization, supernumerary officials, and decreased efficiency. Chapter four, on Registers and Customs, shows to how great an extent the rules for registering cargoes and passengers to and from America, were evaded, especially in the matter of unrecorded bullion. In explanation of these abuses, it is suggested that they were connived at not only by officials but by the King himself, who dared not suppress them because of his dependence on the great merchant-bankers. One purpose of registration was to facilitate the collection of the imposts, including the *avería*, levied on ships and cargoes to defray the cost of defending the India navigation against corsairs. The needs and methods of such defence are described. By 1660 smuggling had become so general, and so few goods were registered, that the rate of the *avería* rose to a height that encouraged further fraud; consequently this tax was abolished on goods from the Indies and the American merchants paid a fixed sum instead. The fifth chapter, dealing with Emigration and the Foreign Interloper, tells a similar story of the building up of elaborate restrictive regulations, which failed of their object. "The Crown of Castile sought to extend Spanish power, and monopolize all the treasure of the Indies, by means of a rigid and complicated commercial system. Yet in the end, it saw the trade of the New World pass into the hands of its rivals, its marine reduced to a shadow of its former strength, crews and vessels supplied by merchants from foreign lands, and its riches diverted at their very source." (P. 122). The chapter on The Spanish Monopoly shows that Spain's paternalistic interference in the economic life of her colonies was not based on Mercantilist theories. "It is difficult to discover any characteristic 'policy' at all, unless it be one of blind opportunism." Trade with the Indies was controlled by a few commercial houses in Seville and America which "constituted a perpetual coalition for the exploitation of the public and in restraint of trade." The colonies were kept understocked and had to pay exorbitant prices for all foreign commodities. There was a close alliance between the merchant and the Crown. The measures taken to maintain the restrictive system—which are fully described—were so vigorous as to lead to a flourishing illicit traffic.

The chapter on The Precious Metals includes a careful inquiry into the amount of the revenues derived by Spain from America. Evidence

on this point is given in the appendices in tabular form. Gold and silver constituted, of course, by far the most valuable part of the cargoes from the New World; but it seems to the reviewer that in order to round out his treatise, Mr. Haring should have devoted more space than he has to an account of the other commodities brought from the Indies, and of the cargoes sent thither from Spain.

An interesting chapter on The Isthmus of Panama traces the history of the project of a waterway between the oceans to the early nineteenth century. The contents of the second part of the book are indicated by the chapter headings: Galleons and Flotas; Corsarios Luteranos; Ships and Navigators. The organization of the treasure fleets, its development and decay, the course followed by the fleets to and from the Indies, are carefully traced. The corsairs, although occasionally successful in cutting off one or two vessels from the treasure fleets, never succeeded in destroying the Indian galleons. This was accomplished on only three occasions, and then by powerful squadrons of hostile states. Spanish-American commerce was ruined, not by the loss of the silver fleets, but by the attacks of the buccaneers upon the coast towns of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, and by the interlopers' trade.

A few flaws in Mr. Haring's excellent work must be noticed. His phraseology sometimes lacks precision, as when he terms Sir Francis Drake "the second circumnavigator after Magellan" (p. 240). Had he made use of La Roncière's *Histoire de la Marine Française*, which is missing from his bibliography, he would have given a somewhat different account of the capture of Montezuma's treasure (p. 70). It was long ago proven that the French captain called Florin in the Spanish texts, was not the explorer Verrazano, but Fleury, one of Jean Ango's captains. (La Roncière, *op. cit.*, III, 249 ff.) "The question of English trade with Spanish colonies in America" did not come to the surface for the first time in the negotiations for the treaty of 1604 (p. 247). It was discussed on several much earlier occasions. (See, for example, *Calendar of State Papers—Spanish, 1568-1579*, p. 251.) The provisions of the truce of 1609 relative to the American trade are not correctly stated on p. 236. Despite such blemishes, Mr. Haring's book marks an important stage in the progress of our knowledge of the beginnings of Spanish-American history.

Artiñano's book, although on precisely the same subject as Mr. Haring's, is of quite a different character. It is an able, thoughtful, and diffuse sketch, written with the patriotic purpose of promoting an

interest in Spanish-American commercial relations, and of reviving the naval power of Spain. The author, who has written a work on *Arquitectura Naval Española*, investigates the causes of the ruin of Spain's sea-borne trade, and calls upon his countrymen to follow a policy opposite to that which led to the destruction of their overseas commerce. His book is based on good authorities, and he has used some manuscript material. He is more interested in generalities than in details.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

*The West Florida controversy, 1798-1813: A Study in American Diplomacy.* By ISAAC JOSLIN COX, Associate Professor of History, University of Cincinnati. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1912.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. Pp. XII, 699. \$3.50.)

It will be unnecessary for investigators to re-examine the West Florida controversy for many a year to come, for Professor Cox has seen practically all the known material and has presented his findings with fullness of detail, with painstaking care, and with historical insight. The author is perhaps better fitted in temperament and training to unravel the complicated story than any other scholar in the United States. He is possessed of infinite patience, knows the ins and outs of the archives, is endowed with unusual ability in finding pertinent material, and is calmly judicial in his discussion of mooted and difficult questions. When he gets on the trail of a filibuster, the illusive plotter must eventually surrender, no matter how intricate the course nor how tiresome the pursuit.

The principal materials were drawn from the Archivo General at Seville, the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid, the State Department of Archives and History at Jackson, Mississippi, the archives of the State and War departments at Washington, the Archives des Affaires Étrangères at Paris, and the British Public Record Office. The archive guides prepared under the auspices of the Carnegie Institution greatly facilitated the work. It appears to the reviewer that the British archives were not drawn upon for their full store of information, and as a result the reader gets but passing glimpses of British policy regarding West Florida. Otherwise there can be no question of the thoroughness of the search for material.

The "historical apparatus" is on the whole satisfying. There are four maps; the frontispiece is a reproduction of William Darby's map



of Louisiana and part of the Mississippi Territory; another map illustrates the gradual acquisition of West Florida; others show the Baton Rouge and Mobile districts. Professor Cox did not see fit to include a bibliography; to the reviewer this is an unfortunate omission, but the footnotes are so copious that there is some justification for the author's decision. The index is excellent. The proof reading was done with care, only one serious slip being found, an unfortunate omission of a line and insertion of another appearing in the fourth line on p. 169. Slight errors also occur on pp. 363 and 365.

The author has long held the view that the pioneer was the deciding factor in American diplomacy. In the examination of the West Florida controversy he has found no reason to change his view point, as is shown by his closing words. "The pioneers who took part in it had pressed into an area that physiographically belonged to the United States and they undertook to make this relation a political one also. They occupied the territory by peaceful means, dispossessing few that had any legitimate claim for redress. They outstripped the diplomat and forced his hand, and in the final settlement their deeds, though obscured under a cloud of words, formed the determining factor. If the preceding chapters have made this clear, the writer has accomplished his purpose." Most of the thoughtful readers of this book, and none but the thoughtful will read it, will no doubt agree that Professor Cox is correct in his conclusion.

The perusal of the volume leaves the impression that the author is far more interested in the doings of the pioneers than in the intrigues of the diplomats. The chapters dealing with the local situation are more interestingly written and more thoroughly grounded than are those which deal with the policies of the French, Spanish, British, and United States governments. In fact the great contribution of the book lies in the story of the pioneers.

The opening chapter which presents the diplomatic background is not entirely satisfying, for it fails to clear up many questions connected with the Treaty of 1795. The third chapter which deals mainly with the Louisiana Purchase, and the fourth which gives an account of Monroe's mission to Spain add little to our previous knowledge. That portion of the sixth chapter which deals with the Burr Conspiracy is unconvincing, and the final chapter which covers the subject after 1815 is distinctly disappointing.

In style the book is heavy, for Professor Cox is always willing to sacrifice style for accuracy. Seldom does he allow his pen to flow

freely. Those who admire the severe, the academic, the painstaking, the continual striving for exactness, will find enjoyment in the book. The reviewer would prefer to read the story of the capture of a fort (p. 399) without interrupting the movement of events by a discussion of authorities. The author is prone to advance reasons for human action when the documents at hand fail to supply the information; for examples see pages 295, 297, 302, 472, 478, 482, 483; "scientific guessing" is at best a dangerous pastime. Much of the material might have been compressed without historic loss, and more thought given to arrangement in chapters V. and VIII.

The faults which the reviewer has pointed out are minor matters as compared with the solid merits of the book. Serious students of history will thank Professor Cox for his careful work, and after all, to the writer of history it is the approval of those who know which gives him his reward for the patient toil in dusty archives and in musty tomes.

THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL.

*Florida the land of enchantment.* By NEVIN O. WINTER. (Boston: The Page Company, 1918. Pp. xii, 380. Map; illustrations; index. \$3.50.)

The contents of this volume are described on the title-page to be "an account of its [Florida's] romantic history from the days of Ponce de Leon and the other early explorers and settlers, and the story of its native Indians; a survey of its climate, lakes and rivers and a description of its scenic wonders and abundant animal and bird life; and a comprehensive review of the Florida of to-day, as a state important for its industries, agriculture and educational advantages as well as the unsurpassed and justly celebrated winter resort of America, with unparalleled attractions for health and pleasure seekers, nature lovers, motorists and sportsmen." It forms a volume of the "See America First" Series, and like the other volumes of that series has an attractive, though perhaps too ornate appearance, is well printed and bound, and profusely illustrated. In common with Mr. Winter's other books, this is a readable, but not in any sense a deep, book. The style is journalistic and the author permits himself in consequence to assume a free-and-easy attitude toward his public that could not be tolerated in a really serious book. There are many items of interest and many good descriptions, and the casual reader will feel repaid for reading the volume. Sportsmen, who desire to know something of the game and

fishing possibilities of the state, and persons desirous of information concerning its resources, will find it entertaining and of some use. To the historian, however, the work makes no appeal whatever, for it contains nothing of the history of Florida that can not be obtained better elsewhere; but it is only fair to say that the author did not write the book for historians but for the general public. A few of the chapters are devoted in whole or in part to Spain's connection with the territory of Florida, something being said of the discovery and conquest, the wanderings of the ill-fated Spaniards who tried to discover its secrets, the settlements finally accomplished, the rivalry between the Spanish and French, and the events leading to transfer to the United States. The romantic element is put forward too prominently, but the book may stimulate readers who desire to know more of the history of Florida to go to other and more satisfactory works. There is an uneven list of some forty titles, in which Mr. Winter evidently confuses the works of Hakluyt the man and the volumes of the Hakluyt series. The index is poor.

J. A. R.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

*Centenary of the battle of Maipu.*—On March 29 the Department of State sent a telegram to the American Embassy at Santiago, Chile, instructing the Ambassador to congratulate the Chilean Government on the centenary of the glorious battle of Maipu. The Ambassador was instructed at the same time to point out to the Chilean Government that this year is also the centenary of friendly diplomatic relations which have existed between Chile and the United States. The first American Diplomatic Representative sent to Chile, Theodorick Bland, offered congratulations to the Government of Chile on the "late splendid victory of Maipu" and after a century of free government and progress in Chile, the United States again takes pleasure in congratulating that country.

It is interesting to remember, in connection with the anniversary of Maipu, that victory was achieved with arms and ammunition obtained in a large part from the United States. Not only in guns, but with men did the United States participate in the Chilean fight for liberation, for in 1818 an American citizen, Wooster by name, holding the rank of Captain in the Chilean Navy, while commanding the *Lautaro* was first to board the Spanish man of war, *María Isabel*. Wooster was later made a rear-admiral by the Government of Chile. In 1818 other citizens of the United States were fighting and dying for Chilean liberty, and the Government of the United States took the stand that the Chilean people were not insurgents but were engaged in a civil contest in which each of the contestants was entitled to equal rights and respect. The United States took the lead four years later in according recognition to the Chilean Government.

An extract from the "Report of Theodorick Bland to the Honorable John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, 1818", follows:

On the 15th of April, 1818, I left Buenos Aires, and on the 26th arrived in Mendoza. The distance, by the way of the post road which I traveled, is estimated at nine hundred miles. After making the necessary preparations in Mendoza for crossing the Andes, I set out on the 29th April and arrived in Santiago de Chili on the 5th May following. On the 7th of May I called on Don Antonio José de Irisarri, and told him I wished to present my respects to the Supreme Director of the state, and to make some communications to him, with which I was charged by



the President of the United States. Mr. Irisarri, after seeing the Director, replied that it would be agreeable to him to receive my visit on the next day at ten o'clock, when he would do himself the pleasure of introducing me.

On the next day, accordingly, at the hour appointed, I waited on the Director, and found him in the common hall of audience and business. He received me respectfully, and I congratulated him on the late splendid victory of Maipo, which had freed his country from its foreign foes, secured its independence, and would, I was sure, be attended with the happiest consequences. He expressed his pleasure at my congratulations and good wishes.

I told him I was one of those who had been sent by the President of the United States in a public ship to that country, for the purpose of obtaining correct information of its situation, and making some communications as to the course pursued by the United States, as well in a general as a particular point of view, that the President and people of the United States felt a lively interest in the fate of that country, whose people were not looked on as insurgents in rebellion, but as waging a civil contest, in which each of the contending parties were entitled to equal rights and respect; that the United States had, and would, observe the most strict and perfect neutrality; and that nothing should be yielded, or in any manner conceded to the one, which would not, in like manner, be granted to the other, according to the law of nations. He said he had already been assured of the friendly and neutral disposition of the United States, and that it was expected the independence of Chili would be first recognized by the first independent Government of their own continent. I assured him that the United States wished no advantages of any kind whatever of this infant republic; that he would see, by the late message of the President to Congress, the United States neither wished, nor would ask, any commercial advantages of that country, in any treaty which might hereafter be formed between them; that the interests of my country were altogether and perfectly compatible with the best interests of that; that the United States not only wished that country independent, but also earnestly hoped it might be free; so that each might thus form a security to free institutions, and contribute to the prosperity of the other; and that the late splendid victory having swept from Chili every thing like a foreign foe, I presumed it would now set about forming a constitution and form of government for itself. He said he felt assured of the mutual interests and goodwill which subsisted between our countries.

*An address by Dr. Alejandro Alvarez.*—On March 1, 1918, the eminent Chilean scholar, Dr. Alejandro Alvarez, gave the following address at the University of California: "At this time—a most vital and tragic one for humanity and especially for this great republic—it is indeed a pleasure for a Latin-American to find himself in the midst of the students of this renowned University, and to assure you that all of Latin-America sympathizes with, and renders her unqualified moral support to, your country, and also to your president.

"There is a strange contrast in the present epoch that merits notice; at the moment when the greatest cataclysm recorded in the history of

humanity has swept over Europe—a cataclysm that has divided the European nations into two rival groups—amongst our own countries there exists the closest harmony and unity of ideals and principles.

“Making use of her commercial influence, Germany believed she could force Latin-America into opposition to this country. She has endeavored to create in this hemisphere the rivalry already existing between the two groups of European States. In this attempt she has failed. Latin-America understands perfectly that her independence and international integrity, which would be seriously menaced by the triumph of the Central Powers, is of far greater importance than mere commercial advantages. Latin-America gives her complete sympathy to the cause of the United States and the Allies also, because she heartily endorses the ideas and principles of international organization which induced the United States to enter the war.

“On the other hand the suspicion with which Latin-America had previously looked upon the United States has entirely disappeared—thanks to the cordiality and judicious policy of this country, particularly within the last few years, in its relations with Latin-America.

“The peaceful policy of President Wilson with regard to Mexico, and his act in calling together the representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, the three largest countries of Latin-America—now commonly known as the A. B. C. powers—as mediators in the conflict, marked a new era. To the Continental bonds of friendship thereby proclaimed and sealed, the United States owes, and can be thankful for, the present friendly attitude of Latin-America.

“What is still necessary is that these bonds of friendship shall continue to grow and be lasting, so that the United States may not in the future distrust or fear Latin-America, and that Latin-America may neither distrust nor fear the United States.

“The best way in which to develop this solidarity is to work, *as a unit*, for the reconstruction of international society on a more stable basis after the war. The ideal—the prophecy—of unity of outlook will thus become a reality. Latin-America supports with unanimity the principles and ideals that President Wilson has promulgated during the war, because they are noble, sincere, and unselfish; for the United States desires no individual gain, but only the future welfare of the countries of the world. The German Chancellor, however, in his recent address before the Reichstag, published on February 27, declares that the principles proposed by President Wilson as the basis upon which the future international society must be founded and developed, ‘must

not be proposed by the President of the United States alone, but must also be recognized definitely by all states and nations'. We, the Latin-Americans, can reply to the German Chancellor that all of Latin-America does accept the principles set forth by President Wilson, because they are the only ones which can assure peace in the future.

"Moreover, the American Institute of International Law is already working for the unification of the international doctrines of all America. In each one of the twenty-one countries of our continent, there exists a national society of international law, and the union, or federation, of these twenty-one societies constitutes the American Institute of International Law. Since the European war began, the Institute has been occupied with the preparation and elaboration of projects relative to the reconstruction of international law after the war. As soon as the war is ended all nations of the world must meet to establish a new basis for the society of nations. The American continent must stand forth united, supporting the same ideas and doctrines; in that case they will have great weight in the decisions of the world assembly. We can well say, with satisfaction and without pretence, that the American continent is now preparing to assure the triumph of its liberal and democratic ideals in the international law that will later be established.

"In order to complete our continental solidarity, it is necessary, however, to extend and develop the intellectual relations between the universities of the New World. And the accomplishment of this must come through our study of one another, in order that each may *know* the other better. In the study of the political and social sciences—especially of history, constitutional law, and international law, in which too exclusive attention is now given to the political and social life of Europe—attention must henceforth be paid to the political and social life of our own countries. That is to say, in the United States the institutions and international doctrines of Latin-America must be more closely studied; and in the Latin-American universities, the life, institutions, and international doctrines of the United States must be studied to a greater extent. Finally, it is necessary that all the universities of our continent should be brought into more intimate contact, in order to facilitate the study of the great political, economic, and social problems that will arise after the great war.

"A new era in international relations is now beginning—an era which will assure peace, prosperity, and happiness to this continent and to the world at large."

*The Caravel Santa María*.—Mr. Charles W. Stewart, Superintendent of Naval Records and Library of the Navy Department, recently became interested in the whereabouts of the replica of Columbus's caravel, *Santa María*, which was formerly at Chicago. He found that there were various conflicting reports in regard to this vessel. From one source, he heard that the vessel was thought to have been placed in the custody of the Hispanic Society of America in New York some years ago. Another report was to the effect that it had been loaned to the Boston Institute of Technology for exhibition at the Commencement of 1916. A third report was that the vessel had been seen at Bridgeport in the summer of 1915; and a fourth that it had never been taken from Chicago. The *Pittsburg Observer* of May 9, 1918, reported that it had been sold at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to satisfy towing claims amounting to \$1,000. After persistent investigation, Mr. Stewart was able to get the facts of the matter, which are as follows:

"The *Nina* and *Pinta* are now anchored in the yacht harbor in Jackson Park. The *Santa María* was taken from Chicago some five years ago by one Charles Stephenson with the intention of taking her to California to be exhibited at the fair which was held there in 1915-16. He failed in this project, and never got farther than Boston, Mass. In 1917 he made an effort to return the vessel to Chicago, but got into financial difficulties with a towing company, and the vessel put into the harbor at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where it was seized for debt by the towing company and finally sold at auction in the British Admiralty Court, when it was bought by one Dr. Leo Frank, an American citizen who is in business at Charlottetown. The South Park Commissioners have since purchased the vessel back from Dr. Frank, and within the last three weeks possession was taken by their representative and she is now (June, 1918) somewhere in the St. Lawrence River on her way back to Chicago. When she reaches Chicago she will be anchored in the Jackson Park harbor along with her sister ships."

*The name "Latin-America."*—The *Hispano América*, of San Francisco, in its issue of June 9, 1918, reprints an interesting letter from *La Prensa*, of New York City, written to the latter periodical by Sr. Juan C. Cebrián, of San Francisco. Parts of this letter, all of which is of interest to students of Hispanic America, are here reproduced in English. "I desire," says the writer of the letter, "to call your attention to the important decision made on January 6, by the Madrid daily, *El Sol*,



namely, to cease using the erroneous and mistaken appellation 'Latin-American.' *El Sol* yielded to the reasons adduced by Srs. R. Menéndez Pidal and Mariano Cavia in their letters of January 4 and 5. The letter of Sr. Menéndez was published in English in *Inter-America* last April. That of the academician Mariano de Cavia, vibrant with well seasoned truths, contains in addition, the authoritative opinions of the eminent and voluminous author, E. J. Rodo, and those of the Portuguese national political poet, Almeida Garret, in favor of the appellation 'Hispanic American' and opposed to the intrusive appellation 'Latin', which has been spreading and threatening to subvert the public mind under the guise of pedantic generalities. . . . Below I quote Rodo's remarks in his famous book '*Ariel*':

"We South Americans, when it is a question of subscribing to this unity of race, have no need of speaking of a "Latin America". We have no need of calling ourselves "Latin Americans" in order to apply a general name to ourselves that may include us all; for we can call ourselves by a name that signifies a unity much more intimate and concrete. We can call ourselves "Ibero Americans", the descendants of the heroic, civilizing race that only politically has been broken up into two European nations. We might even go farther and say that the very name "Hispanic American" is also applicable to the natives of Brazil, and this I assert on the authority of Almeida-Garret, for since the name "Spain" in its original and proper meaning was a geographical appellation, and not a political name or the name of a nationality, Portugal has today in fact as complete a right to share in this name "Spain" as those parts of the Peninsula which constitute the present Spanish nationality; and therefore, Almeida-Garret, the poet *par excellence* of Lusitanian national sentiment, affirms that the Portuguese could, without prejudice to their independence and with entire propriety, call themselves 'Spaniards'."

"We see then, that the national poet *par excellence* of Portugal thought as we do; and that the Portuguese could, with entire propriety, call themselves 'Hispanic Americans', as well as the other natives of South America. As was to be expected, authorized Portuguese, Uruguayan, and Peninsular-Spanish opinions coincide with ethnographic, historic, and philological truth, with the truth adopted by the whole world for the space of four centuries; for it is only within a very few years that the intrusive appellation 'Latin' has insidiously been trying to substitute itself for the original adjective. Let us all rest assured that there exist but two Americas, namely, the Anglo-Saxon or English and the

Hispanic. There is no Teutonic or Latin America. The Teutonic nations were not those which founded and acquired English America, but England solely. Neither was it the Latin nations which created, nourished, and molded the rest of America (older and more extensive), but Spain and Portugal only—that is Hispania. This week there will be published . . . the first number of *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* under the direction of a board of eight professors from six universities of North America stretching from Columbia University to the University of California, and it is to be noted that these historians, in harmony with the Hispanic American Society, have adopted the logical, historical, and secular appellation 'Hispanic America' and rejected the intrusive appellation 'Latin'. . . . Although 'Ibero American' might be used with propriety, it carries an idea much more remote, and there is no doubt that 'Hispanic American' is preferable and more adequate, notwithstanding that *El Sol* has elected for the present to use 'Ibero.'"

In its *List of Publications and Depository Libraries and Institutions* (no. 5), dated February 1, 1918, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace says: "On May 20, 1916, the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Endowment established a list of Depository Libraries and Institutions, to receive all publications of the Endowment, whether published for free distribution or sold at a price. The libraries included in this list have agreed to establish and maintain card catalogues of these publications, and to make them conveniently accessible to all persons desiring to consult them." The libraries and educational institutions in South and Central America (including Cuba and Mexico) acting as depositories for the publications of the Endowment are as follows:

#### ARGENTINA

Universidad Nacional, Córdoba.  
 Universidad Nacional, La Plata.  
 Biblioteca Nacional, Buenos Aires,  
 Museo Social Argentino, Buenos Aires.  
 Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales, Buenos Aires.  
 Colegio Nacional, Corrientes.  
 Colegio Nacional, Tucumán.  
 Colegio Nacional, Santiago del Estero.  
 Colegio de los Jesuítas, Sante Fe.  
 Colegio Nacional, Jujuy.

Colegio Nacional, Mendoza.  
 Colegio Nacional, Rosario.  
 Colegio Nacional, Salta.

#### BOLIVIA

Colegio de Jurisprudencia, La Paz.  
 Universidad Mayor de San Francisco Xavier, Sucre.

#### BRAZIL

Faculdade de Direito, São Salvador, Bahia.

Faculdade de Direito, Porto Alegre,  
Rio Grande do Sul.

Faculdade de Direito, Recife, Pernambuco.

Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

Faculdade de Direito, São Paulo, São Paulo.

Faculdade de Direito, Bello Horizonte,  
Minas Geraes.

Faculdade de Direito, Nossa Senhora  
de Belem, Pará.

#### CHILE

Liceo de Concepción, Concepción.

Biblioteca Nacional de Chile, Santiago

Universidad Católica de Santiago, San-  
tiago.

Universidad de Chile, Santiago.

#### COLOMBIA

Academia Colombiana de Jurispru-  
dencia, Bogotá.

Museo Nacional, Bogotá.

Universidad Hispanoamericana, Bo-  
gotá.

Universidad de Cartagena, Cartagena.

#### ECUADOR

Colegio Nacional, Guayaquil.

Universidad Central del Ecuador,  
Quito.

#### PARAGUAY

Universidad Nacional, Asunción.

#### PERU

Colegio Nacional, Chiclayo, Lam-  
bayeque.

Universidad Mayor de San Marcos,  
Lima.

Universidad del Cuzco, Cuzco, Cuzco.

#### URUGUAY

Universidad de Montevideo, Mon-  
tevideo.

Biblioteca Nacional, Montevideo.

#### VENEZUELA

Universidad Central de Venezuela,  
Caracas.

Colegio Nacional, Cumaná.

### CENTRAL AMERICA

#### COSTA RICA

Colegio de San Luis, Cartago.

Escuela Normal, Heredia.

Liceo de Costa Rica, San José.

#### CUBA

Universidad de Habana, Habana.

Biblioteca Nacional, Habana.

#### GUATEMALA

Universidad de Guatemala, Guatemala.

#### HONDURAS

Colegio Nacional, Santa Rosa.

Universidad Central de la República,  
Tegucigalpa.

#### MÉXICO

Colegio Nacional, Durango, Durango.

Escuela de Jurisprudencia, Guadala-  
jara, Jalisco.

Biblioteca Nacional, México, D. F.

Colegio de Morelia, Morelia, Mi-  
choacán.

#### NICARAGUA

Universidad de Nicaragua, León.

#### SALVADOR

Universidad de El Salvador, San Sal-  
vador.

Professor William R. Shepherd, of Columbia University is a corresponding member of the Cuban Academy of History. He is also Consejero (Counsellor) for the United States of "Vida Internacional", a publication to appear at Madrid after the war under the joint general editorship of Rafael Altamira and Rafael Vehils. His book *Latin*

*America* has had the good fortune to have as its translator into Spanish, Rufino Blanco Fombona, the Venezuelan Litterateur. It is volume XIX. in the "Biblioteca de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales", published by the "Editorial América" of Madrid. It will be remembered that Professor Shepherd, for the *American Historical Review*, reviewed all the volumes of the "Biblioteca Ayacucho" published by the "Editorial América" under the editorship of Blanco Fombona. He is in addition the review editor of all Hispanic historical publications for *Political Science Quarterly*, and has lately completed the manuscript of the last volume in Allen Johnson's series *Chronicles of America*, the title of which is "The Hispanic Nations of the New World". This work outlines the history of the Hispanic Republics, 1783-1918. Professor Shepherd is engaged in the preparation of a comprehensive history of Hispanic America, both colonial and republican.

Dr. Roger H. Merriman, who has recently attained to a full professorship in Harvard University has been commissioned captain in the United States army and assigned to duty as aide-de-camp to Major General W. S. Graves, of the Ordnance Department. After a short stay at Camp Fremont, Palo Alto, California, he had expected to accompany the Eighth Division to France, but the Division has been sent to Siberia instead. When the French officers visited Harvard University some little time ago, Captain Merriman acted as interpreter for them.

Dr. Julius Klein, of Harvard University, at present on leave therefrom as chief of the Latin American Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce, in Washington, has been awarded the David A. Wells prize in Economics this year. This prize is awarded annually by the Department of Economy of Harvard University for the most important contribution in the field of Economics by the holder of a recent Harvard degree. The subject of Dr. Klein's work is *The Mesta: a Study in Spanish Economic History*. It deals with the history of the famous guild of Castilian sheep owners, which was founded in 1273 and lasted until 1836. The *Mesta* was one of the oldest and most influential economic organizations in the history of western Europe. It developed the merino breed of sheep and for several centuries virtually controlled the Spanish woolen trade, which was a highly important factor in medieval and early modern European commerce. The financial support, in fact, given to the crown by the



*Mesta* in the sixteenth century, both through wool taxes and through forced loans was an important resource in the prosecution of exploration and settlement of America, as well as in the wars of the Hapsburgs. Attempts were made to introduce the institution of the *Mesta* into Spanish America in the sixteenth century. One of the first measures taken by Cortes was the incorporation of a set of laws into the ordinances of the City of Mexico, by which the institution was introduced into New Spain. Subsequent events proved, however, that this was only another illustration of the curious Spanish incompetence to judge carefully economic factors. The geographic and agrarian conditions in America were entirely different from those which made the peculiar institution of the *Mesta* a possibility and even a necessity in Castile. The chief feature of the *Mesta* was the semi-annual migration of flocks between summer and winter pasturage. In view of the enormous numbers of sheep involved, frequently running into several millions a year, an elaborate system of special cross-country highways was maintained, a corps of active itinerant justices (*entregadores*) protected the flocks en route, and a formidable array of legal talent was always at hand to defend the cause of the sheepowners before the royal courts. The book is now being prepared by the Harvard University Press, and is expected to be published in the early fall. It will be illustrated with cuts, maps, and facsimiles of fifteenth and sixteenth century documents.

In the June number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*, Professor Mary W. Williams of Goucher College writes on an "Outline for the Incidental Study of Latin-American History in Secondary Schools". She notes the increasing interest that is manifest among high school teachers in regard to the history of Hispanic America. She suggests that the high-school teacher give "the essentials of Latin-American history in an incidental manner in connection with the courses in United States history. The idea is to introduce information regarding Latin America at logical points in the course. And much of this information can be conveyed by means of comparison of historical development in the two social units, a method which will serve to clarify and emphasize United States history while giving the pupil a bird's-eye view of a new field." A tentative outline is suggested for such incidental study, including: I. "Aboriginal America"; II. "Colonial period"; III. "Establishment of Latin-American independence"; IV. "Political instability"; V. "Rise of republican rule in Latin-America"; VI. "Latin-America and the race question"; VII. "Present-day Latin-America". This

interesting article closes with a bibliographical list, which the author says "makes no pretense at completeness", for those who may wish to enter upon such a study as she has outlined. The bibliographical list is subdivided into Guides to bibliography; syllabus; general history and description; special states or regions; pre-Columbian period; colonial period and wars for independence; and periodical publications.

Dr. Walter Lichtenstein, who has been Librarian of Northwestern University since 1908 has severed his connection with that institution and has entered commercial life. During the time of his office, the library grew from 70,184 volumes and about 47,500 pamphlets to 115,492 volumes and approximately 85,200 pamphlets. One of the most notable, as well as one of the largest collections added in recent years to the Library is that of South American History. This is among the very best of the collections touching South American history west of the Alleghanies. It contains all the standard works and series as well as many rare works, and in addition a notable collection of manuscripts. In October, 1917, the Library published Fr. Benigno Bibolotti's *Moseteno Vocabulary and Treatises*, which was based upon a manuscript discovered in the South American manuscript collection by Dr. R. R. Schuller.

Announcement has been made of the appointment to Native Sons of the Golden West Fellowships in history at the University of California of Miss Doris West Bepler, and Messrs. Ralph Kuykendall, John Joseph Hill, and Raymond Chambers. The first three are graduate students of the University of California, while the fourth is a graduate of Northwestern University and a graduate student of Harvard University.

Sr. Juan C. Cebrián, of San Francisco, California, who has long been actively interested in Hispanic American history, has recently been elected to honorary membership in the Royal Academy of History (La Real Academia de la Historia), of Madrid. This honor is all the more accentuated, as there are only twelve of such memberships bestowed by the Academy. It was granted to Sr. Cebrián as a tribute to his efforts in promoting historical study in Spain and America.

Mr. Archer Huntington, of the Hispanic Society of New York, has once more been knighted by the King of Spain, this time receiving the Grand Cross of Charles III., an honor that has come to few men outside of Spain.

In its budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the government of Venezuela has an item of \$535,975 for the Department of Public Instruction.

The Archbishop of Quito, Rev. Dr. Federico Gonzalez Suarez, long known as an eminent historian of Ecuador, died recently at the age of about 90.

A recent development that will undoubtedly have great influence in the Hispanic American field is the founding of the Cortes Society which took place in New York City in the year 1917. The purpose of the society is to publish rare or inaccessible early works of Hispanic America which have never before appeared in English. Two works have already been issued, namely, *The Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1917), by the Anonymous Conqueror, edited by Marshall H. Saville, and *The Conquest of Peru* (New York, 1917), by Pedro Sancho, edited by Philip Ainsworth Means. The officers of the Society are: President, Frederick Webb Hodge; Secretary-treasurer, Marshall H. Saville; Vice president Major General Hugh L. Scott. The Council of the Society is composed of the officers ex officio and George Parker Winship and Philip Ainsworth Means. The address of the Society is Museum of the American Indian, Broadway, at 156th Street, New York City. The Society plans to locate its publications as evenly as possible among the various countries of Hispanic America, although it is, perhaps, inevitable that such countries as Mexico and Peru will have more attention devoted to them than such countries as Argentina and Brazil.

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HISPANIC AMERICAN COURSES IN UNITED STATES EDUCATIONAL  
INSTITUTIONS

*Brown University*

In its courses in History (catalogue, 1917-1918), nos. 19 and 20 are devoted to *American History to 1787*. The subject forms a general course covering the colonial and revolutionary periods and including a survey of French and Spanish as well as of English colonization. It is a three hour course throughout the year, and is elective for Juniors, Seniors, and Graduates, and for Sophomores who have credit for courses nos. 1 and 2 (Medieval and Modern History of Europe). It was not given in the year 1917-1918.

Nos. 23 and 24. "*Latin-American*" *History*. An outline study of Spanish and Portuguese expansion in America, exclusive of the United States, with special reference to the colonial period, and the rise and progress of the "Latin-American" Republics, their social development, economic resources, and present condition. A three-hour course throughout the year. Elective for Juniors, Seniors, and Graduates. Not offered in 1917-1918.

### *Colorado*

Dr. Thomas Maitland Marshall, of the University of Colorado, gives the following courses that have a bearing on the history of Hispanic America: *Colonization of North America*, including a survey of Spanish Colonial Institutions and settlement, 1492-1776; *Diplomatic History of the United States*, in which emphasis is placed upon Hispanic American relations. The subject of Dr. Marshall's seminar course on United States history for 1918-1919 will be the Mexican War. At the summer school session of the University of Colorado for 1918, the following courses were given; 12. "*Latin American*" *History and Contemporary "Latin American" Problems*. This was given by Professor James M. Callahan of the University of Virginia. In the summer school announcements it is described as follows: "A condensed, comprehensive survey of "Latin-American" development and present problems. The chief topics treated are: European background; discovery, conquest and settlement; geographic conditions; the Spanish colonial system and institutions; the struggle for independence; early international relations; political history of the leading states; revolutions, civil wars and dictatorships; industrial progress; intellectual evolution; political and social institutions; later political and diplomatic relations with Europe and the United States; external perils and influences; trade relations; contemporary achievements and problems of Latin-American civilization—especially the problems of unity, races, immigration, political organization, social life, educational reform and economic and industrial development; contrasts in the development of nationality; relation of the United States and the canal to the future of Latin peoples; Pan-American possibilities. Textbook: Koebel's *South America*".

### *Columbia*

In Columbia University, Professor William R. Shepherd offers the following courses (History 269 and 270) which are included in the Department of Political Science:



*Spanish and Portuguese America I.* Affords a brief survey of Hispanic institutions and culture from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, so as to indicate the type of civilization carried by Spain and Portugal to America; followed by a sketch of the course of discovery, exploration and settlement, and of incidental foreign relations; attention then centred on the form of government, social organization, economic conditions, the work of the Church and the intellectual status up to the close of the eighteenth century.

*Spanish and Portuguese America II.* Describes transition from colonial rule to independence, and traces the development of the Hispanic republics from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time; describes their relations with Europe and the United States, emphasizing in particular the Caribbean situation; discusses the social and intellectual factors involved in determining the attitude of Americans and Hispanic Americans toward one another.

Dr. Shepherd also offers the following courses (history e 177 and e 178) in the School of Business:

*"Latin America": Peoples; Governments; Resources; Industry; Transportation; Commerce.* Aims to supply the knowledge and cultivate the attitude of mind which may enable Americans to understand Hispanic Americans, appreciate their circumstances, work with them along the lines of material and intellectual progress, and contribute in general to the promotion of inter-American friendship and commerce. This is a course purely on contemporary conditions and is given in the School of Business. These courses, running throughout the year (the first three sub-heads forming the matter of course "e 177"—spring session—and the last three that of course "e 178"), are open to undergraduates on the approval of the appropriate committee on instruction obtained in advance. They may be offered by graduate students toward the higher degrees, and may be counted toward the degree of B.S. in Business.

In the course and accompanying seminars on *The Expansion of Europe*, due heed also is given to the Spanish and Portuguese factors in comparison with other European states, when it "explains how certain characteristics of modern civilization have been derived from the contact of Europeans with the peoples of America, Asia, Africa and Oceania since the fifteenth century; and discusses (1) the spread of European influence, from the standpoints of policy, government, society, industry, commerce and culture; (2) the consequent reaction, social, industrial, commercial, financial, moral, intellectual and political, upon the countries of western Europe".

Dr. Toribio Esquivel Obregon gives a course on "*Latin-American Commercial Law*", affording a general idea of the history of "*Latin-American*" countries as a means of understanding their legislation, and particularly, their commercial law—first, the legal condition of merchants; the constitution of commercial companies and their different characters; the rights and obligations of stockholders, and of those who organize and administer corporations; the rights of agents and attorneys—second, the requisites and fulfilment of contracts; negotiable instruments; foreign exchange—third, administration of justice and judicial procedure; bankruptcy or insolvency—fourth, the institutions and laws of commerce in relation to banks, coinage, postal service, and customs duties; regulations as to imports and exports; laws applying to patents and copyrights; laws relating to public lands and to mines; the consular service.

During the half-year February–June, 1918, also, José F. Godoy offered "*Latin-American Diplomacy*"—a general outline of the origin, history and présent status of, and in, the Hispanic American republics; and *The Consular Service in "Latin America"*—a general outline of the duties and powers of consular officials in the Hispanic-American republics and information regarding those countries useful to such officials.

All the courses whether given in the School of Business or in connection with Extension Teaching, or in those courses given in the University proper are on the two hours per week basis.

### *Illinois (1917–1918)*

Dr. William Spence Robertson offered the following courses in 1917–1918.

26. *History of the "Latin-American" Colonies.* Political, economic, social, and intellectual life of Spain during the period of discovery: exploration, settlement, and civilization of Spanish-America and the Philippines. A course for advanced undergraduates and graduates given three times each week during the first semester. Admission to this class is incumbent upon the student's having had the course on Continental European History from the fourth century to the present time, or that on the history of the United States.

27. *History of "Latin-America" from the War of Independence to the Present Time.* The leading "*Latin-American*" States; political parties; existing governments; relations with Europe and the United States. The old régime in Texas, Mexico, and California. A course for advanced undergraduates and graduates, given three times each week during the

second semester, admission to which is incumbent upon the student's having had the course on the History of the United States.

111. *Spanish-American Relations*. The relations of the "Latin American" states with Europe and the United States. The Monroe Doctrine, the development of international trade, etc. A course for graduates given once each week throughout the year.

In connection with the "Seminar in American History (101)"—which includes "Bibliography; solution of typical problems chosen this year with special reference to the international relations of the United States; reports on investigations", direction in research is offered among other subjects in "Latin-American History", by Assistant Professor William Spence Robertson.

### *Indiana*

Dr. James G. McDonald gives a course in Hispanic American history that extends throughout the whole year, with class meeting twice each week. The first part of the course includes a study of the Spanish institutional background, the period of exploration and discovery, the colonial institutions, the causes of the wars of independence, and the history of various countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The period of exploration and discovery is covered hastily, as it is but an aspect of the colonial period. Stress is laid on the study of the institutions of the colonial period with a view to correcting prevalent misconceptions of the Spanish colonial system. The causes of the wars of independence are studied more carefully than military events. The last two or three months of the year are given to the study of fundamental present-day problems of Hispanic America. During the year 1917–1918, about forty students, including both men and women, were enrolled in the class. Some of the men who have taken the course in former years have gone into foreign trade, while others have become teachers of the history of Hispanic America and Hispanic American relations. Dr. McDonald spent the years 1915 and 1916 in Spain investigating the Spanish Corregidor, working especially in the collections in Madrid and Seville.

### *North Carolina*

Dr. W. W. Pierson, Jr., gave the following course during 1917–1918:

"*Latin-American*" *History*. A careful study of the history, geography, political and social institutions, and the economic development and possibilities of "Latin-American" countries. In the fall term a study is

made of the Spanish and Portuguese colonial systems and of the movement and wars for independence; in the spring term attention is directed to the development of republics, the struggle for political stability, the exploitation of resources, and the course of international relations. This course was elective for Juniors and Seniors and was also open to Sophomores. Three hours a week for the entire university year.

### *Northwestern*

Professor Walter Lichtenstein gave the following course during the year 1917-1918:

B9. *South American History*: Political, social, and industrial life. This course was open to students who had completed one year's work in the department, and was given three hours per week throughout the year.

Professor Lichtenstein also gave a two-hour seminar throughout the year (course E3) in *South American History* in which was studied "diplomatic history" leading up to the war of the Pacific and the relations of Peru, Bolivia, and Chile during the period 1840-1860. The course was based on a study of the Lanza Collection of manuscripts, and was open to graduate students, and by permission, to students who had completed three year-courses in the department. These two courses will not be given during the coming university year.

Course C1. *History of the West*, given by Professor James A. James two hours per week throughout the year, included considerable of Hispanic American interest. Professor W. V. Pooley's course *Diplomatic History of the United States*, (C3) which was given two hours per week throughout the year included a study of the Monroe Doctrine and relations with the South American republics.

### *Pennsylvania*

*The United States and "Latin America"* (course no. 2 in Political Science). The development of the policy of the United States with reference to Central and South America. The Monroe Doctrine. Its application during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The present international situation in Central and South America. Policy of the United States with reference to these problems. Offered (1917-1918) by Professor Rowe. Two hours per week. Designed especially for graduates.

*Economic Geography of "Latin America"* (course no. 31 in Economics). A regional study of South and Central America, Mexico, and the West Indies. Physical features, climate, and resources influencing industrial,



commercial, social, and political developments. Commercial relations with the United States, present and prospective. Lectures, assignments, and reports. Assistant Professor Roorbach. Two hours per week. The course is primarily for undergraduates.

*Smith College*

The course in Hispanic American History is the first to be given in this field by the department, and is the only one offered at present. It is planned, therefore, to be of a general rather than of a detailed character, and will aim to give the student an idea of the sources of the characteristic elements of Hispanic American life, of the origin and complexity of the problems it faces, and an appreciation of its more marked achievements. As Hispanic American civilization is Spanish or Portuguese in its origin and as the story of these countries is not as a rule familiar to the students, it is proposed to preface the course with a brief survey of the history of the Iberian peninsula, followed by a more detailed examination of the condition of Spain and Portugal in the 15th and 16th centuries. This it is hoped will enable the student to appreciate the more important elements of the civilization that was about to expand and to dominate an alien and less advanced race. While the thread of Spanish history will not be lost throughout the course, the center of interest will lie naturally, after this introduction, in the New World, and in the ways by which Spain and Portugal built up their overseas empire. Comparison will be constantly made with the colonial methods of France and England, and the attempts of European nations to wrest trade and territory from earlier possessors will be discussed. It is intended to keep the student aware that the colonization of the New World was a phase of European history and not an isolated phenomenon. This study will occupy the first half year. The second semester will be given to the story of the Wars of Independence, followed by a general study of the development of Hispanic America to the present time. The political and economic relations of the republics not only with the United States but also with Europe will be treated at some length. Briefer attention will be given to the social literary and artistic life. The history of Brazil, Chile, the Argentine, and Mexico, as illustrating the life of the larger and more advanced of these countries will be taken up in considerable detail. The course is given two hours a week throughout the year.

*Texas (1918-1919)*

26. A. *Foreign Trade*. Organization of foreign trade; technique of transportation, insurance, and the custom house, financing of foreign shipments; a detailed study of selected foreign markets, their needs, possibilities, methods of development, usages. Prerequisite: Business Administration 11, or Economics 1. Special stress is laid on Hispanic American trade. For undergraduates and graduates. Three hours per week throughout the year. Dr. Charles H. Cunningham.

The following courses are given by the Department of History:

*Spanish and French colonization in the United States*. The progress of Spanish and French settlement within the present limits of the United States from the early discoveries to the acquisition of their possessions by the United States. Spanish and French types of civilization are described and comparisons made with Anglo-American institutions. A fairly detailed study made of the early Mission period of Texas history. For undergraduates. Two hours per week throughout the year. Professor W. E. Dunn. Omitted in 1918-1919.

*History of the Pacific Area*. The history of the activities of European peoples and of the United States in the Pacific and the adjacent regions, and of the social, political, and economic development and importance in the nineteenth century of the Far Eastern nations bordering on the Pacific; emphasis on present-day conditions and problems, including such subjects as the Eastern question, trade possibilities on the Pacific, Far Eastern international rivalries and alliances, South America and the Pacific, the Panama Canal and the Pacific, the Pacific and the Great War. For undergraduates and graduates. Three times per week throughout the year. Dr. Cunningham.

*A History of "Latin America."* A comprehensive survey of the historical development of the republics of "Latin America" to the present day. Especial attention to the transfer of Spanish and Portuguese civilization to America; colonial conditions; the struggle for independence; and the evolution of the republics of today. Emphasis on present-day conditions, including international relations, political problems, systems of government, race questions, and economic and industrial conditions. For graduates and undergraduates. Three hours per week throughout the year. This is Professor William R. Manning's course and in his absence in the last academic year was given by Dr. Cunningham.

*"Latin America" and the United States*. While not neglecting the influence of European countries on the inception and development of

the "Latin-American" nations, and while reviewing the relations of the latter with each other, this is essentially a study of the relations between the "Latin-American" countries and the United States, dealing especially with the independence, struggle, recognition, the Monroe Doctrine, United States hegemony, expansion, and manifest destiny, "Latin-American" suspicion and hostility, the Pan-American movement and recent cordiality and community of interests. For undergraduates and graduates. Three hours a week throughout the year. A new course to be given by Professor Manning.

*The Spanish Southwest.* The colonial activities of Spain in the southwestern portion of the present United States; the extension of Spanish dominion over the region, the development of Spanish institutions which have influenced later civilization in the Southwest. Exceptional facilities for research are afforded by the valuable collection of source materials in the possession of the University. A fair reading knowledge of Spanish is necessary. Three hours per week throughout the year. For undergraduates and graduates. Professor Dunn. Omitted in 1918-1919.

Professor Mary W. Williams of Goucher College who spent a portion of her summer in Washington on some special work, has been giving a general course on the history of Hispanic America. Goucher college was one of the first of the women's colleges in America, if not the first, to introduce courses in the history of Hispanic America.

During the second semester of the past year at the University of California, Professor Bolton had a total registration of 177 pupils and Dr. Chapman, 144, for the courses offered in that university on the history of Hispanic America. It is very probable that this enrollment will be even greater next year, for Dr. Priestley, who was away for the last semester will offer a course on Spanish Colonial Institutions and one on the History of Mexico, in addition to the courses to be offered by Drs. Bolton and Chapman. The University of California, because of its geographical position as well as because of the history of California has a natural interest in the study of the history of Hispanic America, and with its magnificent Bancroft Collection, has many prime sources for the nearer Hispanic countries and the great southwest of our own country when under Spain or Mexico. Professor Bolton gave a course on Southwestern history in the recent summer school of the University of California. Dr. Chapman gave courses in Nineteenth Century His-

panic America and contemporary South America at the University of Washington summer school; and Dr. Priestley conducted courses on the history of Mexico at the summer school of the University of Southern California.

W. W. Pierson, Jr., of the University of North Carolina gave a course on Hispanic American history at the recent summer session of Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee.

Dr. Charles H. Cunningham of Texas gave courses in the University of Alabama during the recent summer school.

Rev. John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame, has had two classes in the history of South America at the summer school of the University this season. Father O'Hara has done considerable work on the bibliography of Hispanic America, and an outline of some of his work was published in a recent number of the *Catholic Historical Review*.

Dr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California, who has been editing the Bandelier Collection of materials for the Carnegie Institution, has been appointed professor of history and head of the Historical Department of the University of New Mexico.

At the last annual meeting of the Texas State Historical Association held at Austin, April 22, 1918, Dr. Charles E. Chapman, of the University of California, Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, Mr. A. K. Christian, now at the University of Pennsylvania, Miss Eleanor C. Buckley, of Austin, Texas, and Mr. Philip C. Tucker, 3d, of Vergennes, Vt., were elected fellows.



## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### A DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN LEGAJOS IN THE ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS

#### PART II<sup>1</sup>

#### (Conclusion)

33. **Legajo 103-6-19.** *Espediente sobre cuentas de las rentas del Hospital Real de San Cosme y S. Damian de Durango. Años 1771.* The title is a sufficient indication of the contents of the *legajo*. Nothing was entered.—NPC

34. **Legajo 103-6-21.** *Espediente sobre el establecimiento de la poblacion del Carrizal y del Presidio de la Junta de los rios del norte y concho. Años 1759 á 1760.* This contains only the two *testimonios* catalogued at numbers 454 and 455, aggregating over nine hundred pages and dealing with the question of protecting the Nueva Vizcaya frontier from the raids of the Indians of Texas, through the founding of a presidio on the Río Grande.—NPC

35. **Legajos 103-6-23 to 31 and 103-7-1 to 12.** *Cartas y expedientes.* These twenty-one *legajos* dating from 1744 to 1785, are in a series containing seventeen more, which carry the inclusive dates to 1800. *Legajo* 103-6-23 embraces the years 1744 to 1760, but the majority of the others are for a single year. The material in *legajo* 103-6-23, most of which was entered, is in disorder, indicating a probability of its having been used, although there were no copy marks. *Legajo* 103-7-11 seems also to have been used, for it is in wild disorder, although lacking removal marks, but the material which bears no observable relation to the numbered *expedientes*, constituting three-fourths of the *legajo*, may once have formed one *expediente*, for it relates to a single idea. The other *legajos* retain the original good order of their filing. The materials are in groups of years, with a series of numbered *expedientes* in each year, very few of the serial numbers of which are missing. The last bundle in each year's list is composed of brief *expedientes* of but one or a few documents each, upon which no action by the

<sup>1</sup> The first part of this "Description" is published in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for May, 1918.

authorities in Spain was necessary. The documents were merely read, therefore, and filed. These papers are called *Cartas de visto*, of which there are about thirty in each annual group of this set. Most of them are acknowledgments of the receipt of royal orders, or announcements of installation in office. Counting each year's *Cartas de visto* bundle as one *expediente*, there are 261 *expedientes* in twenty of the *legajos* investigated, excluding *legajo* 103-6-23. Fifteen *expedientes* were catalogued, together with some of the material in four of the *Cartas de visto* bundles, yielding fifty-seven items, or a total of eighty-two with the twenty-five of *legajo* 103-6-23. These include New Mexico and Texas items.

While less narrowly personal than the papers of the *Espedientes diarios* (discussed in the next following section), those of this set are also of an administrative character, of matters that came up in the ordinary course of business, somewhat general in subject-matter at times, though locally applied. Much of a judicial character and, especially in the later *legajos*, much pertaining to the church, more particularly the secular arm, appear. The *expedientes* for the year 1760 are illustrative of the whole set. They treat of the following subjects: salaries of *alcaldes mayores*; the decision that *corregidores*, *alcaldes*, and justices should reside in the principal town of their district; a request for an explanation of a decree with reference to matrimony; the inability of Indian widows to pay tribute; the sale of certain offices; the collection of certain sums from the cathedral of Guadalajara; the need of a greater population in Coahuila; the visit of the bishop in Nuevo León and Texas; the question whether the *oficiales reales* of Durango, Guadalajara, or Mexico should handle the papers dealing with the taking possession of office by officials in New Mexico; about a settlement north of the mouth of the Río Grande without any pastor; and *Cartas de visto*. Occasionally, material of some importance is to be found in the *legajos*. The following items show this: measures taken as a result of the appearance of Dutch ships off the Pacific coast of New Spain, and as a result of the capture of Frenchmen in New Mexico and Texas, both in *legajo* 103-6-23; and the 116 page summary for the Council of the Indies of the *expediente* in which the most noteworthy document was the Lizazón memorial about conditions in Sonora and problems of northwestward advance, in *legajo* 103-6-25 (mentioned in item 560 of the *Catalogue*).

Several items of interest were not entered, some of which would usually have been regarded as within the plan of the *Catalogue*. The items

follow: a voluminous *expediente* arising from a lawsuit in connection with pearl-fishing in the Gulf of California, the only uncatalogued material of *legajo* 103-6-23; an *expediente* about the establishment of the *alcabala* in Culiacán, Ostimuri, Real del Rosario, and Sonora, in *legajo* 103-6-25; two *expedientes* about the Frenchman Pedro Molina, who was married to a woman of Guadalajara and was interested in mining, but was living at Guadalajara without the permit required in the case of a foreigner, in *legajos* 103-6-30 and 103-6-31; the project of a citizen of Guadalajara for the establishment of eight royal banks in the two Americas for the benefit of miners, and an *expediente* about the division of the Californias between the Franciscans and Dominicans, both in *legajo* 103-7-1; an *expediente* about reducing the price of quick-silver at Bolaños, so as to assist in developing mineral wealth there, in *legajo* 103-7-2; two *expedientes* about secularizing certain Franciscan missions in Nueva Galicia, in *legajos* 103-7-3 and 103-7-11; and several *expedientes* of the year 1777 concerning the difficulties arising between the viceroyalty and the *comandancia general* of the Provincias Internas, as a result of the establishment of the latter, in *legajo* 103-7-5.—NPC

36. **Legajos 104-1-6 to 14.** *Espedientes diarios. Años 1760 á 1799.* This is another well-ordered set of *legajos*, the material being arranged in packages covering a single year, within which the *expedientes* have a consecutive numbering. The documents are usually of a minor administrative character, almost wholly concerned with the petitions of individuals about matters of personal interest to them. Petitions to be allowed to go to the Indies, or to carry certain relatives and servants there, petitions for a right to marry, requests for office or for promotion, claims for sums of money, requests for confirmations in office or in social standing—it is of such material that the *legajos* are made up. Aside from their institutional possibilities, the documents are occasionally of value because they deal with some official in whom the investigator has an interest or because they refer incidentally, in supporting the petition in question, to events that are within the scope of an investigation. In the case of the *Catalogue*, seventeen *expedientes* (of which fourteen come in *legajos* 104-1-6 and 7), yielding forty-nine items, were entered, out of a total of 422 *expedientes*. Two of the entered *expedientes*, one dealing with the establishment of the Dominicans in Baja California, and the other giving complete and detailed information as to the expense of the Department of San Blas and the Californias from 1768 to 1774, proved to be material of importance for the *Catalogue*—serving as illustrations of the way in which valuable items are occasionally buried in unpromising *legajos*.

At a period of more liberal interpretation of the rules for entry, the following *expedientes* might also have been catalogued: *legajo* 104-1-7, 1769, no. 1—petition for permission to fill vacancies at the College of San Fernando, Mexico, caused by the sending of missionaries to the Californias; *legajo* 104-1-7, 1769, no. 2—petition for permission to fill vacancies at the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, caused by the sending of missionaries to Sinaloa and Sonora; *legajo* 104-1-7, 1770, no. 2—petition of Thomas Prieto to go to the Indies to serve as a missionary in the Californias, the petition being denied on the ground that Prieto was over fifty years old;<sup>2</sup> *legajo* 104-1-10, 1780, no. 5—grant of the rank of city to Arispe, Sonora, because it was to be the capital of the Provincias Internas and the seat of a bishopric; *legajo* 104-1-10, 1782, no. 8—petition of Francisco Sánchez Zúñiga, a Queretaran friar who had spent ten years as a missionary in Pimería Alta, to be allowed to return to Spain; *legajo* 104-1-14, 1799, nos. 3 to 6—petitions of five Dominicans, who had served twenty years in Baja California, to be made masters in their order; *legajo* 104-1-14, 1799, no. 10—petition of a Dominican, who had served in Baja California, to be made *predicador general* of his order.—NPC

37. *Legajo 104-2-13. Expedientes e ynstancias de partes. Años 1766 á 1777.* This is one of a set of twelve which cover the years 1732 to 1826. The material is concerned with the petitions of individuals for office, more pay, promotion, financial assistance, and, in the case of widows, for pensions. Except for a few petitions by members of the clergy, the individuals concerned were civil officials already in government employ. Little of value appeared, but eight items were entered.—NPC

38. *Legajo 104-2-25. Duplicados de sugetos particulares del distrito de aquella Audiencia. Años 1707 á 1809.* Another *legajo* with the same title is for the years 1653 to 1706. The title of *legajo* 104-2-25 does not fit the material exactly, for there are a number of *expedientes* which are general in nature and of more than ordinary value, some documents which are not duplicates, and some dated as late as 1816. Most of the papers, however, do relate to matters concerning individuals, and are duplicates, within the dates given. The greater part of the *legajo* treats of ecclesiastical affairs. The nature of the materials is well illustrated by the following items, which were regarded as just too remote

<sup>2</sup> This is the only petition in the set of an individual wishing to go to the Californias. It may also be worthy of note, that the other matters of the *legajo* (appointments, etc.) do not relate directly to the Californias.



for entry: an *expediente* of 175 pages about an uprising, in 1720, of the eleven Indian *pueblos* of the Río del Norte (Río Grande); various *expedientes* about affairs in Nueva Vizcaya during the rule of Governor Belanzarán, notably a seventeen-page letter of 1740 by the governor himself; a letter of the Marqués de Torre Campo, in 1747, relating his achievements as governor of Nueva Vizcaya, and discussing the state of affairs there; a gossip letter of the bishop of Guadalajara, March 13, 1746, in response to a request from the authorities in Spain, describing the various officials of Guadalajara, including Echeverz, president of the Audiencia, and the Marqués de Aysa, a past and future president; and an *expediente* of 150 pages, dated 1796, concerning the *residencia* of Pedro Tueros, governor of Coahuila. A curious item is the poetic effusion of the Marqués de Torre Campo on the accession of Ferdinand VI. Twenty-seven items were entered, including an important *expediente* of 1809 about the governmental restrictions on immigration into Coahuila and Texas.—NPC

39. **Legajo 104-3-1.** *Espediente sobre la historia de la conquista de la Nueva Galicia escrito por el Licdo. D. Matias de la Mota. Años 1760.* This tiny *legajo* of fifty pages is concerned with the petition of Mota Padilla for the publication of his book, this much being granted, and for certain official positions in Guadalajara that he desired. Nothing was entered.<sup>3</sup>—NPC

40. **Legajo 104-3-2.** *Espediente de la expedicion hecha a la Sonora por D. Jose de Galvez y donativos que para ello se hicieron. Años 1766 á 1773.* From the standpoint of the objects of the *Catalogue*, this was one of the richest of the *legajos*. It was in such admirably good order that it can hardly have been used before the writer came upon it. The entire *legajo* was entered, yielding 340 items. The title of the *legajo* is not adequate to describe the material it contains. The documents show that José de Gálvez and the Marqués de Croix formed a plan, which was later carried on by Bucarely, for the development and advance of the northern frontier of New Spain, not only in Sonora, but also along the whole line, from the Californias to Texas. The central idea was the suppression of the rebellious Indians of Sonora and an advance to the Gila and Colorado rivers. As a preliminary, however, Alta California was to be occupied, Baja California made prosperous, or, at least, freed from existing evils that retarded its

<sup>3</sup> The Mota Padilla work seems not to have been published for over a century, when it appeared under the following title: *Historia de la conquista de la provincia de la Nueva-Galicia*. Mexico. 1870. [1871-1872].

development, and the military leaders of Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, and Texas were to hold the hostile Indians in check, until the Spanish troops from Sonora might come by way of the Gila to settle the issue in the east. The *legajo* treats adequately of the workings of the plan, and is fullest for the regions to which Gálvez gave his principal attention, the two Californias and Sonora, and for the years 1768 and 1769 when he personally was on the scene. Except for papers stated to have been filed elsewhere, concerning Russian aggressions, and for certain of Gálvez's reports about the Alta California expeditions of 1769, the *legajo* provides an almost complete survey of Gálvez's activities in Baja California and Sonora until he was taken sick in 1769, and furnishes numerous documents about the heretofore little known story of the Sonora war. The great majority of the documents are copies of the reports and enclosures of Gálvez, Domingo Elizondo, and others to the viceroy, forwarded by him to Julián de Arriaga, the *ministro general* in Spain.<sup>4</sup>—NPC

41. **Legajo 104-3-3.** *Espedicion hecha por tierra á Monterrey en California. Años 1768 á 1772.* Like *legajo* 104-3-2, this also was a valuable *legajo*, giving seventy-six items, the entire *legajo*, for the *Catalogue*. It did not have the completeness as to the subject-matter treated that *legajo* 104-3-2 had, but it furnished abundant materials concerning the Alta California expeditions of 1769, after their arrival at San Diego. Thus, the march up the peninsula is inadequately referred to, but the two marches to Monterey and the occupation of that port in 1770 are abundantly documented. There is also much material about the preliminaries of both the sea and land expeditions and concerning the Indian wars in Sonora, including the voluminous account of Beleña, catalogued at number 1940. The *legajo* had been much used, although still in good order, and, except for the Beleña report, there was hardly a document that had not been copied.<sup>5</sup>

42. **Legajos 104-3-4 and 5.** *Espediente sobre la sublevacion de los Yndios de la Pimeria alta y sus incidencias. Años 1775.* All of the material in these valuable *legajos*, 155 items in all, was catalogued. The revolt discussed is not of the year 1775, but the Pima revolt of 1751 and its important consequences. To this subject are devoted half of *legajo* 104-3-4 and all of *legajo* 104-3-5. The documents are principally *testimonios* of the year 1754, some of them the result of Jesuit

<sup>4</sup> Much of this material has since been procured for the Bancroft Library.

<sup>5</sup> The copies were procured by Professor Stephens for the Bancroft Library. The Beleña report also has since been copied.

efforts to exculpate themselves from blame for the uprising, but most of them resulting from the enquiries of their opponent, Governor Diego Parrilla. There are other documents on this subject between 1751 and 1759. The whole number furnish ample opportunity for the study, not only of the Pima revolt, but also for the affairs of Sonora and frontier conditions in general. The Spanish projects of advance by way of the Gila and Colorado rivers are prominently to the fore as well, as, for example, in the voluminous Balthasar and Gallardo memorials of 1753 and 1758.

Half of *legajo* 104-3-4 is devoted to Dominican petitions for a missionary field, in particular, in the Californias. The documents are for the years 1760 to 1775, and include much important material other than that of the Dominican efforts. There are statistical accounts of the Baja California missions in 1768 and in 1773, the valuable Gálvez memorial of 1773 about the division of the Californias between the Franciscans of San Fernando and the Dominicans, various reports of the fiscales of the Council of the Indies and resolutions on the Dominican petitions, and especially the important plan of the Council of March 6, 1775, material also about the Anza expedition of 1774, and, in general, a great deal bearing upon the region of the Gila and Colorado and upon the Californias.

Some of the Dominican material had been copied, but most of *legajo* 104-3-4 and all of *legajo* 104-3-5 were free from marks indicating removal for copy.

43. **Legajo 104-3-9.** *Consultas, Materias, e Ynformes de Real Hacienda. Años 1596 á 1805.* Only one document of this *legajo*, the item catalogued as 410, was entered, and this seems to have slipped into the *legajo* by mistake. Nevertheless, the materials are extremely important for matters of finance in Spanish colonial administration. The papers are mostly concerned with the affairs of the Real Caja of Guadalajara, but there are occasional references to other *cajas reales* within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Most of the documents are summary accounts, and not mere masses of figures, of the recommendations of the Contaduría General and Council of the Indies. One of the most remarkable documents of the *legajo* is a *testimonio* of 1765, forwarded to Spain with a letter of August 3, 1765, by the *oficiales reales* of the Real Caja of Guadalajara, of which the title reads as follows: *Testimonio de varias Certificaciones, y diligencias pertenecientes á la Comprobacion de el Cargo, y Data . . . de la Real Hazienda, y Caxa de esta Ciudad de Guadalaxara de veinte años á esta parte.* The

document is a certified copy, 116 pages long. It was written to demonstrate how much more successful the writers had been in gathering revenues, in the ten-year period from 1753 to 1762, than their predecessors had been in an equal length of time, from 1743 to 1752. Not only did they prove their case, but their figures for the entire twenty years show annual remittances to Mexico, representing an excess of receipts over disbursements of between 80 and 90 per cent of the amounts collected by them. Figures are also present for the receipts of each year, indicating the different sources of revenue and the amounts they produced. This valuable document is supplemented by material in *legajo* 104-3-21 (presently to be described).<sup>6</sup>—NPC

44. **Legajo 104-3-10.** *Provisiones de Empleos de Real Hacienda. Años 1764 á 1795.* A second *legajo* with this title dates from 1796 to 1808. This *legajo* deals with the appointments and promotions of *oficiales reales* of the more important *cajas reales* within the jurisdiction of the Audiencia of Guadalajara. Eleven items were entered.—NPC

45. **Legajo 104-3-18.** *Oficiales Reales y sus dependencias. Años 1768 á 1791.* This is the second of four *legajos*, the whole series dating from 1743 to 1811, and referring to the operation of the Real Caja of Guadalajara. While but three inconsequential items were entered, the *legajo* has some importance for matters of *real hacienda*. It covers a wide range in subject-matter, the following being some of the topics that appear: projects for increasing revenue; methods of administration; letters enclosing accounts for a given period, and stating results; occasional *cortes*, *tanteos* and *estados*<sup>7</sup> which happened not to be removed to their proper file; indices of the letters of the *oficiales reales*; and matters concerning individuals, such as questions of salary, appointments to office, and requests for permission to marry.—NPC

46. **Legajo 104-3-21.** *Estados, Cortes y Tanteos de Guadalajara. Años 1761 á 1781.* This is one of two *legajos*, the second carrying the inclusive dates to 1807. The receipts and disbursements of the Real Caja of Guadalajara are covered with completeness for the years named. The *cortes* and *tanteos* give the *cargo y data*, or receipts and disbursements, in detail for the whole of each year. Each of these documents fills about fifty pages. They are summed up in an *estado*, an

<sup>6</sup> The materials of *legajos* 104-3-9 and 104-3-21, covering the years 1742 to 1781, were used in Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, pp. 52, 53, 455, 456, and appendix II. between pp. 456-457.

<sup>7</sup> These terms are defined in the next following *legajo* description.



exceedingly neat piece of work on a single sheet,<sup>8</sup> although this document is missing for the earlier years of the *legajo*. As already mentioned, this *legajo* and 104-3-9 furnish a fairly complete history of the financial operations of the Real Caja of Guadalajara from 1743 to 1781, but this is the better *legajo*, not only because of the *estados*, but also because disbursements are itemized. Despite the great value of the *legajo*, only five items mentioning remissions of funds to San Blas were entered.—NPC

47. **Legajos 104-3-23 to 25.** *Cuentas de Real Hacienda de Guadalajara.* These three *legajos*, for the years 1761 to 1776, form part of a set of eight, of which the last five range from 1777 to 1788. Except for three *Pliegos de Sumario*<sup>9</sup> for 1742, 1764, and 1765, the materials of *legajo* 104-3-23 consist of five books, one for each year from 1761 to 1765, like those elsewhere styled *Libros Manuales*. In later years the *Relación Jurada*, *Pliego de Sumario*, and *Resultas y Reparos* are present, indicating a change in the methods of accounting. The materials are important, since the figures are for the wide-sweeping jurisdiction of the Real Caja of Guadalajara, and bear upon the economic development, and therefore upon the Spanish advance, in the frontier provinces. Among materials of a special character is the item catalogued as number 1,837, summarizing receipts, disbursements, and remissions to Mexico for each year from 1762 to 1771. The three *legajos* were catalogued in entirety, yielding thirty-six items.—NPC

48. **Legajo 104-4-28.** *Cuentas de Real Hacienda del Rosario y Alamos. Años 1772 á 1781.* A second *legajo* is for 1782 to 1786. *Legajo* 104-4-28 is wholly concerned with Alamos. In each year there are four classes of documents, the *Pliego de Sumario*, *Resultas y Reparos* (called *Resultas y Reflexas* here), *Relación Jurada*,<sup>10</sup> and *Cuenta de Cargo y Data*, the last-named providing separate accounts of each branch of *real hacienda*. These papers are of value for the Spanish northwestward advance, as they indicate the economic progress, especially of the mining districts, on which such an advance was based. All of the fifty-two items of *legajo* 104-4-28 were entered.—NPC

49. **Legajo 104-5-10.** *Cuentas de Real Hacienda de las Provincias Ynternas. Años 1779 á 1782.* The *legajo* is not well described, for it deals only with the expenses of the militia companies maintained in Nueva Vizcaya. Nothing was entered.—NPC

<sup>8</sup> Photographs of two *estados* are given in appendix II. of Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*.

<sup>9</sup> For unexplained terms, see section 50, where definitions are given.

<sup>10</sup> See the definitions given in section 50.

50. **Legajos 104-5-11 to 15.** *Cuentas de Real Hacienda de S. Blas de California. Años 1774 á 1794.* These *legajos* contain the financial operations of the Department of San Blas in its important relation to the Californias. While the materials vary in some measure in the different *legajos*, there are six principal types of documents found. The *Relación Jurada*, or sworn statement of receipts and disbursements, made up at the end of each year by the commissary of San Blas and his assistants, provides an itemized account of the kinds of goods sent to the Californias, together with the amounts and prices, dates of shipment, ships upon which they were loaded, etc. The *Pliego de Sumario* is a summary of the *Relación Jurada*. The *Resultas y Reparos*, also called *Pliegos de Consistencia*, *Autos de Consistencia y Reparos*, and yet other names, contains a detailed comment on the various items of the *Relación Jurada*, averaging from ten to twenty times that document in length. The two last-described documents were made by up the Real Tribunal de Cuentas of Mexico; they tend in great measure to clear up the meaning of the masses of figures appearing in the *Relación Jurada*. Beginning with 1786, the last year of *legajo* 104-5-11, the documents consist principally of three leather-bound volumes. The *Libro Manual* is a journal, or day book, in which items, whether debit or credit, are entered consecutively under each day, with the same sort of comment as that of the *Relación Jurada*. The *Libro Mayor* is a ledger, and the *Libro de Caja*, or *Libro de Tesorero*, is a cash book. In these later years, the first three documents described are missing, except the *Resultas y Reparos*, and that is briefer than before. The later materials are therefore more difficult of use by an investigator.

For the minute details of the Spanish settlements in Alta California, these *legajos* are extremely important, since that colony was almost wholly dependent on San Blas. These documents not only show everything that was shipped to Alta California, but also furnish much incidental data, such as the names of ships and their officers and the dates of sailing. In *legajo* 104-5-11 there were a few documents of a financial character other than those described above, all of which referred to Alta California. Every document of the five *legajos*, 103 in all, was entered.—NPC

51. **Legajo 104-5-16.** *Cuentas de Real Hacda. de S. Carlos de Perote en California. Años 1773 á 1789.* Two other *legajos* in this set carry the dates to 1803. *Legajo* 104-5-16 is complete only for the years 1773, 1774, and 1786 to 1789, although a few documents of 1779 to 1782 appear. The documents are the same as those described in section

50. Since the fort of San Carlos de Perote was in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, it would seem that the *legajo* is wrongly entitled. Nevertheless, the twenty items of the *legajo* were entered, three, at least, with justification, since they referred to the accounts of the presidio of Loreto in Baja California.—NPC

52. *Legajo 104-5-19. Expedientes de Real Hacienda en general. Años 1764 á 1791.* This is the first of a set of five *legajos* running to the year 1819. The materials were a distinct surprise, in that they did not consist of account books and lists of figures, but were rather in the nature of projects of *real hacienda*. They are principally for the year 1786 to 1791, and deal, for the most part, with the Department of San Blas, and with plans for instituting trade between the Philippines and Alta California. Two *expedientes* appear in which suggestions were made, between 1786 and 1790, for developing the fur trade of Alta California and the northwest coast. One of them involved also the development of Alta California's mineral wealth; furs were to be exchanged for quicksilver, which was to be procured in China and sent, by way of the Philippines, to San Francisco. The *legajo* yielded thirty-eight items for the *Catalogue*.—NPC

53. *Legajo 104-5-24. Expedientes é instancias de partes. Años 1777 á 1789.* A second *legajo* is for 1790 and 1791. Although *legajo 104-5-24* has the same title as the already described *legajo 104-2-13*, which it resembles in kind, it proved unexpectedly rich in materials for the Department of San Blas, the greater part of the *legajo* relating to that department. Most of the documents have the usual *de partes* character of referring to individuals, such as the remittances of sums by officials of San Blas to their families in Spain, or promotions of officials, or, in the present instance, charges against them on the ground of their operating a gambling establishment, but there are some *expedientes* of a general character. Most important of the entered material of a general nature is an *expediente* of 1777 about a proposal to move the Department of San Blas to Matanchel or Chacala. Among material not entered was an *expediente* of 1788, about two hundred pages long, concerning the causes of the economic decline in the province of Durango. Fifty-five items were entered.—NPC

54. *Legajo 104-6-7. Expediente sobre la imposicion y cobro de tributos en la Provincia de Sonora y otras. Años 1776.* This *legajo* in fact deals almost wholly with the collection of the royal tributes from the Indians of Sinaloa, rather than from those of Sonora. Four documents were entered because of their reference to general laws applying the tributes in all parts of New Spain.—NPC

55. **Legajo 104-6-8.** *Patentes y Nombramientos militares. Años 1699 á 1804.* This is both a very important and an exceedingly well-ordered *legajo*, covering appointments to military positions in the frontier provinces for the years given above. The material is arranged in separate folders by presidios or posts, with a statement of the inclusive dates of the appointments. The file is fairly complete, one officer usually succeeding a predecessor whose prior appointment appears in the *legajo*.<sup>11</sup> The appointments are for commanders of the particular post, although a few officials of lower grade appear. Entry was made of 353 items according to the scheme of the *Catalogue*. The list itself of the military posts, with the inclusive dates of appointments, is a matter of importance, and it is therefore inserted below, just as it appeared on the covers of the various folders. Those marked with a double asterisk were entered in entirety; those with a single asterisk, to 1781; the others were not entered at all. Where the inclusive dates are inaccurate, they are corrected, in brackets, before or after the given dates, as the case may be.—NPC

<i>Post</i>	<i>Years</i>
1. **Presidio de la Bahia del Espiritu Santo.....	1731-1783 [1799]
2. *Presidio de Sn. Juan Baupia del Rio Grande.....	1709-1784 [1803]
3. **Presidio del Paso del Rio del Norte.....	1699-1782 [1803]
4. Presidio de Sn. Felipe y Santiago de Janos.....	1734-1782 [1803]
5. *Presidio Sta. Gertrudis del Altar.....	1778-1784 [1796]
6. Presidio de Sn. Buenaventura.....	1774-1785 [1803]
7. **Presidio de Sn. Diego en Californias.....	1782- [1800]
8. Presidio Santiago de Mapimi.....	1731-1738
9. Presidio del Sacramento.....	1738
10. **Presidio de Nra. Sra. de Loreto en las Californias	1746-1782 [1800]
11. **Presidio de Sn. Antonio de Vejar.....	1731-1782 [1803]
12. Presidio de Nayarit.....	1731- [1769]
13. **Presidio de Sn. Felipe de Jesus de Guevabi en Si- naloa.....	1747
14. **Presidio de Sn. Pedro de Gracia Rl. ó Guevavi... 1746	
15. **Presidio de Sn. Franco. en las Californias.....	1782 [1802]
16. **Presidio de Sta. Barbara en Californias.....	1782- [1802]
17. *Presidio de Terrenate en la frontera de Sonora...	1755-1775
18. *Presidio de Sn. Bernardino en Sonora.....	1776-1778 [1794]
19. **Presidio de Sn. Eleceario.....	1778- [1799]
20. **Sn. Blas de Californias.....	1789- [1800]
21. *Presidio de Nra. Sra. de la Concepcion de la Mon- cloba.....	1733-1783 [1803]

<sup>11</sup> The *legajo* appears to have been in the file of the Contaduría General; the appointments are copies of the duplicate forwarded to it, the remitting letters to it are originals, and the Contaduría replies are drafts.



22. \*\*Presidio de Tubac..... 1767
23. \*\*Milicias de Cavra. de las Fronteras de Sierra  
Gorda..... [1794]
24. Presidio del Principe..... 1778-1784 [1804]
25. \*\*Villa de Laredo..... 1789
26. Presidio Sn. Pedro del Gallo..... 1746
27. Presidio de Sn. Gregorio de Zerralvo, en el No. Ro.  
de Leon..... 1735
28. \*\*Presidios Internos . . . Nueva España  
. . . Comandtes.—Ynspectores..... 1772-1785 [1803]
29. Nueva Espa. Cohahuila . . . Cirujano Militar 1793- [1796]
30. Provas. Internas . . . Ofics. de Caballeria... [1786-1788]
31. N. E. Provincias Internas Retiros..... [1791]
32. N.E. Provincias Internas . . . Ofzs. sin de-  
nominon. de Cuerpo..... 1787- [1790]
33. \*\*Tubac Compañia de Yndios Pimas..... [1801]
34. \*\*N.E. Sn. Rafael de Buena-vista Compañia de  
Yndios Pimas..... [1789]
35. \*\*Presidio de Sn. Carlos de Monterrey..... 1777-1783 [1802]
36. Presidio de Sn. Carlos de Buena Vista..... 1774-1784 [1803]
37. \*Presidio Sn. Miguel de Zerrogordo ó San Carlos.. 1731- [1801]
38. \*\*Presidio de Sn. Sabás..... 1777-1782
39. Presidio de Sta. Rosa de Aguaverde..... 1729-1778 [1804]
40. N.E. Presidio de Guajoquilla..... 1774
41. \*Presidio de Sn. Fernando del Carrizal..... 1774-1785 [1804]
42. \*Presidio de Orcasistas..... 1778-1782 [1803]
43. \*\*Presidio de Sn. Agustin de Tugson..... 1776-1783 [1794]
44. \*\*Presidio de Sta. Feé del Nuevo Mexico..... 1778-1783 [1804]
45. \*\*Presidio de Sta. Cruz..... 1776-1785 [1803]
46. \*Presidio Sn. Bernno. de Fronteras..... 1782- [1802]
47. Compa. de Opatas de Bacoachi, y Babispe..... [1783-1802]
48. N.E. Presidio de Sn. Antonio de la Babia..... 1774-1785 [1802]
49. Compa. Volante de la Nueva Vizcaya ..... 1731-1804
50. Compa. Volante del Saltillo..... 1784- [1785]
51. Chiguagua Compa. Volante..... [1778-1784]
52. Nuevo Santander..... 1789-[1802]
53. \*\*Compa. Volante de Monterrey..... [1788-1793]
54. Sn. Teodoro de Conchos..... 1789
55. Compa. Volante de Sn. Carlos de Parras..... 1784-1802
56. Compañia Volante de Sn. Juan Bautista de Lam-  
pazos..... 1791-1802
57. Compa. Volante de las Provas. Internas de N.E... [1699]-1785
58. Companias francas de Voluntarios de las Provinc.  
Internas de N.E..... [1788]-1800

56. **Legajo 104-6-9.** *Asuntos de Guerra. Años 1752 á 1769.* The title of this *legajo* comes from a thirty-two page *expediente* of four documents for the year 1769, dealing with the Sonora campaign. This was

the only material catalogued. The principal content of the *legajo* is a number of *testimonios*, five of them bulking large, stated as having been found (presumably by those who made up the *legajo*) without the letters with which originally they were enclosed. They are papers in certain lawsuits, and are *asuntos de guerra* only in that military men were the judges.—NPC

57. **Legajo 104-6-12.** *Fortificaciones, Pertrechos de Guerra, Situados de tropa y sus Yncidencias. Años 1763 á 1787.* This is a small *legajo*, mainly composed of *expedientes* arising from the petitions of military men for promotion. There are a few documents also about the movement of troops. Nothing was entered.—NPC

58. **Legajos 104-6-13 to 23.** *Fortificaciones, Pertrechos de Guerra, Situados de Tropa y Provisiones de Empleos de las Provincias Ynternas. Años 1760 á 1832.* After an investigation of the similarly-named sets already described in sections 16 and 57 had revealed little of value for the *Catalogue* not much was expected of this series of eleven *legajos*. The surprise and exhilarating joy experienced by the writer may well be imagined when he discovered, not only that it was very rich, but also that it was by far the most important group of materials for the purposes of the *Catalogue* of all that he had found during his stay in Seville—and no others approaching it in wealth were later encountered. Two of the *legajos*, 104-6-21 and 104-6-23, do indeed resemble those in sections 16 and 57, in that they are mostly concerned with routine matters, such as petitions for promotion and remittances of funds, particularly by San Blas officials, to their families in Spain. Two others, *legajos* 104-6-20 and 104-6-22, while of more than ordinary importance, do not equal the first seven *legajos* of the set in the superlativeness of their value.

The inclusive dates given are misleading, in that there is nothing in the set of later date than 1787, except one two-page *expediente* of 1832. For the years 1760 to 1787, but more particularly from 1766 to 1781, one of the most active periods in the entire history of the region usually designated the Provincias Internas, the *legajos* furnish nearly complete files of the official materials bearing upon the military affairs of the frontier and the Spanish projects for further conquest, especially so far as they relate to the northwestward advance toward and into Alta California. To single out the important items would involve a greater use of space than is intended in this portion of the *Catalogue*, but the following are some of the topics that are represented here with more than ordinary completeness: some of the most valuable papers of the

Rubí inspection from 1766 to 1768, although the Rubí *testimonios* are in *legajos* 103-4-15 and 16; English attempts at settlement and illicit trade in Texas and along the east coast of northern New Spain during the years preceding the outbreak of the American Revolution; numerous *expedientes* about wars against the Seris and Pimas in Sonora, against the Apaches along the frontier from Sonora to Texas, and some against the Taramaures in Nueva Vizcaya and the Comanches in New Mexico; various *expedientes* about the work of José de Gálvez with relation to the founding of the Department of San Blas and the expeditions of 1769 to Alta California, and his activities in Baja California and Sonora, although there is more on these points in *legajos* 104-3-2 and 3 than here; a great many *expedientes* about the progress of Alta California, during the years covered by the *legajos*, in the founding of presidios, missions, and *pueblos*, the conversions of natives, the various phases of economic development, and the growth of the Spanish population; numerous *expedientes* about the supply ships sailing from San Blas to the Californias, and about the affairs of the Department of San Blas in general; the voyages of discovery to the northwest coast, although there is more on this subject in several of the Estado group of *legajos*; numerous *expedientes* about the division of the Californias, as mission fields, between the Dominicans and Franciscans of the College of San Fernando, with much material as to the progress of Baja California in the Dominican period; the internal development of Sonora, with much about the advancement resulting from the discoveries of precious metals at Cieneguilla and elsewhere; numerous *expedientes* about the work of Hugo Oconor and others in establishing the line of frontier presidios, and about the reviews of presidios in every province of the frontier, from the two Californias to Texas; detailed accounts, with diaries and official letters, about the important journeys and expeditions of exploration by land during the period, including, among others, the various Carcés journeys, the two Anza expeditions to Alta California, the two Rivera expeditions to the same province, the Velázquez expedition from Baja California to the mouth of the Colorado River, the Fages and Rivera expeditions to San Francisco Bay, the Mora *visita* in Baja California, and the Domínguez and Escalante expedition from New Mexico to Utah; a five hundred page *expediente*, which might have been expected to appear elsewhere, about the Berroterán explorations of the Río Grande in 1729 and 1738, and the Rábago campaigns against the Apaches in Coahuila from 1747 to 1749; various *expedientes* concerning the forming of *reglamentos* for the government

of the Californias; *expedientes* illustrating the difficulties in the way of the adjustment of the Provincias Internas to their separate status from the viceroyalty, in particular with regard to the problems of northward advance; numerous *expedientes* about the projects for occupation of the Gila-Colorado country, the founding of settlements at the junction of the two rivers, and the Yuma disaster of 1781; the voluminous reports of Oconor, Croix, Neve, and others, about the state of affairs in the Provincias Internas, although the three of Croix referred to in the description of *legajo* 103-3-24 are missing here; numerous *últimas noticias* (latest news) letters, giving summaries of recent happenings in some or all of the frontier provinces; and various other topics which some might deem comparable in interest to those that have just been named.

Not only in subject-matter, but also in orderliness of arrangement and in the technical value of the papers, this set ranks with the best in the archives. The papers seem never to have been used since they were filed, a century before, for the *expediente* groups within the *legajos* were like so many pieces of wood in their unbending and resonant solidity.<sup>12</sup> After being worked over for a few seconds they miraculously became folds of paper, and the *legajos* by actual measurement, were over an inch higher when packed down and tied up again than they were when the papers were first opened. Nearly all of the documents are the originals of the viceroys, *comandantes generales*, and some others to the *ministro general* in Spain, enclosing certified copies, with drafts of the replies of the *ministros generales*.

Unfortunately, this set was discovered by the writer near the end of his stay in Seville, when both time and funds were running out. It was therefore catalogued on the basis of its relation to the history of Alta California and the approaches thereto, and then a second campaign of listing began, with the object of entering all items not included the first time. In this way *legajos* 104-6-13 to 17 were catalogued in en-

<sup>12</sup> Señor Torres Lanzas had previously looked through the *legajos* for some of the maps which appeared in his *Relation descriptiva de los mapas, planos, & [!] de Mexico y Floridas, existentes en el Archivo General de Indias* (2 v. Sevilla, 1900), but he merely glanced at the edges of the *expedientes*, and, if he saw no map (for they are usually discernible), did not open the file. Both he and the late Señor Verger expressed their belief that nobody else had used this set—but the condition of the *expedientes* is proof enough in itself that none of them had been opened except the few examined by Señor Torres Lanzas. Shepherd sensed their value, for he mentions the set (see his *Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in Spanish Archives*, Washington, 1907, p. 67).



tirety. The number of items entered in each *legajo*, with their total of 2,327 documents, is shown below. The omissions may in a measure be made good by a reference here to outstanding items, but they are in any event of less consequence than might have been expected, since *legajos* 104-6-18 and 19 are predominantly Alta Californian, and therefore most of the documents in them were catalogued, while *legajos* 104-6-21 and 23 are of little value, and 104-6-20 and 22 are less strikingly important than the first seven *legajos* of the set.

<i>Legajo</i>	<i>No. of Items</i>	<i>Legajo</i>	<i>No. of Items</i>
104-6-13.....	220	104-6-20.....	70
104-6-14.....	392	104-6-21.....	37
104-6-15.....	286	104-6-22.....	181
104-6-16.....	340	104-6-23.....	27
104-6-17.....	421		
104-6-18.....	244	Total.....	2,327
104-6-19.....	109		

Much of the materials in the unentered *expedientes* has already been indicated in the general description of the contents of the set. The following are some of the more noteworthy *expedientes* that were not catalogued: a considerable *expediente* about the visit of Governor Anza of New Mexico to the land of the Moquis, whom he found in a state of great misery (*legajo* 104-6-19); an *expediente* of about a thousand pages concerning the removal of Captain Rafael Martínez Pacheco from the command at Babia, Coahuila (*legajo* 104-6-20); an *expediente* containing the reviews of Texas presidios in 1782 (*legajo* 104-6-20); and two *expedientes*, composing half a *legajo* concerning the militia of Parras (*legajo* 104-6-21).<sup>13</sup>—NPC

59. **Legajo 104-6-24.** *Espedientes sobre instalación, Trastacion [Traslación] y Reglamento de Presidios Ynternos. Años 1779 á 1782.* The twenty-one items of this valuable *legajo* were all entered. While most of the documents appear in other *legajos*, the general idea conveyed in the above title is nowhere so well represented as here. All the documents are for the years 1779 and 1780, except the printed instructions of 1771 and 1772 for a line of frontier presidios and a Gálvez letter of 1782. Worthy of special note is a bulky summary (noted in the *Catalogue* at item number 4,082, paragraph three) covering not only Croix's letters catalogued as 4,082, 4,149, and 4,150, which are in the *legajo*, but also his letters numbered 396 and 450 (both absent and

<sup>13</sup> Many copies have since been procured for the Bancroft Library.

not catalogued) and another, which is in a different *legajo*, entered as 4,151.—NPC

60. **Legajo 104-7-6.** *Espedientes del Comercio de San Blas de California con Panamá. Años 1789 á 1818.* The whole *legajo* forms a single *expediente*, which is subdivided into twenty-three subordinate *expedientes*. The principal idea involved is that of the continual complaints of the merchants of Vera Cruz against the grant to Panamá of a right to trade freely with neighboring colonies, and, among other places, with the port of San Blas. Only those *expedientes* bearing upon the commerce of San Blas were entered, but that port is dealt with in all of them, except part one of number 2, and numbers 14 to 16, 18 to 21, and 23. The number of items entered was 104. The uncatalogued *expedientes* treat of the following matters: the commercial relations of Vera Cruz with Havana, Tampico, and Campeche; the complaints of the *casa de moneda* of Mexico, because silver was not being brought there for coining; and appointments to the new customs house at Tampico, and the regulations concerning it. Much of this type of material appears also in some of the entered items of the *expedientes* catalogued. Most of the documents are for the period of the Spanish American revolutions, which, in the case of San Blas, made communication with Panamá a necessity, since it was not possible with Vera Cruz.—NPC

61. **Legajo 104-7-8.** *Eclesiastico. Consultas, Decretos y Provisiones eclesiasticas. Años 1797 á 1807.* This is the middle of three *legajos* so entitled, the inclusive dates of the set being 1700 to 1821. The dates of this *legajo* are not accurate, as there are a number of *expedientes* for the years preceding 1797, especially from 1786 to 1796. Most of the documents concern ecclesiastical appointments, such as to the office of canon, dean, or treasurer of a cathedral, but there are many that are more general in character, all dealing with the secular branch of the clergy, except where the regulars were serving as priests and were subject, in a measure, to a bishop. None of the documents bear specifically on regions now within the United States, and no entries, therefore, were made, but much of the material came near to a right of entry. The following of this type may be noted: an *expediente* of about three hundred pages concerning the erection of the bishopric of Nuevo León, involving also the province of Nuevo Santander, with documents for the years 1774 to 1797; and several *expedientes* on the question whether soldiers of the Provincias Internas ought to pay tithes.—NPC

62. **Legajo 104-7-33.** *Eclesiastico. Expedte. sobre ereccion del obispado de Sonora y su establecimiento. Años 1776 á 1787.* This *legajo* bears the marks of usage, though not of copying, in that it is in utter disorder. Originally, the documents formed a single *expediente* and they have been brought together in cataloguing, though not as they must once have been filed. They deal, not only with the erection of the bishopric of Sonora, but also with the establishment of the *custodias* of San Gabriel (Alta California), Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, and New Mexico. The plans for these institutions take up most of the *legajo*, while the later material deals almost wholly with Sonora and its northernmost district, Pimería Alta. By far the greater number of the documents serve to illustrate the machinery involved in the execution of these projects, from their proposal by Antonio de los Reyes, the later bishop, to their authorization by the pope and enactment into law. The Reyes plan (3,317), the Revilla Gigedo history of the *custodias* (5,436), and the Barbastro statistical account of the *custodia* of San Carlos, or Sonora (5,493), are perhaps the principal items of the *legajo*. All but a few of the documents were entered, yielding 117 items.—NPC

63. **Legajo 105-1-24.** *Eclesiastico. Ereccion y Estatuto para los Misioneros en las Provincias Ynternas. Años 1774.* This covers the same subject-matter as *legajo* 104-7-33, part of the material of which it duplicates, but it is almost wholly concerned with the erection of the four *custodias*. The documents of *legajos* 104-7-33 seem to have been the file of the *ministro general*, while those of *legajo* 105-1-24 were probably that of the Council of the Indies. This *legajo* is in good order, and omits many of the purely routine documents that appear in *legajo* 104-7-33. It is wrongly dated, for there are materials of other years than 1774; in fact, perhaps the greater part of the *legajo* is for 1779 to 1782. While most of the *legajo* is an outgrowth of the Reyes plans for *custodias*, there is one *expediente* for 1796 and 1797, about Indian affairs in Nueva Vizcaya, that is somewhat remote from the principal idea of the *legajo*. This *expediente* was not entered, leaving a total of sixty items that were catalogued.—NPC

64. **Legajo 105-1-25.** *Eclesiastico. Expedientes de Misiones. Años 1768 á 1819.* The dates given are misleading, since the *legajo* is almost wholly for the years 1788 to 1810. It contains much useful material for the two Californias, to which more than half of the *legajo* is devoted, in fairly equal amounts for each of the two provinces. Fourteen *expedientes*, containing seventy-eight items, were entered. The following are some of the matters taken up: an *expediente* of over three hundred

pages, dated 1768 to 1797, about the grant of missions in Baja California to the Dominicans; various *expedientes* about the sending of Dominican missionaries from Spain, involving the question how much the government should allow them for expenses; two *expedientes*, 1788 to 1792, about the mutual complaints of the governor and the president of the missions in Alta California; and an *expediente* of 1789, concerning the steps taken for founding new missions in the two Californias.—NPC

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

## NOTES

The series, *Biblioteca Constitucionalista*, publication of which was begun in Madrid by the "Imprenta Helénica" in 1916, is devoted to the history of present conditions in Mexico. Three volumes have thus far been issued: (1) *Carranza y la Revolución de México*, by Edmundo González-Blanco; (2) *Un Déspota y un Libertador*, by Andrés González-Blanco; and (3) *De Porfirio Díaz a Carranza*, by Pedro González-Blanco. The following are announced as in press: (4) *Madero*, by Andrés González-Blanco; (5) *El Clericalismo y la Revolución Constitucional*, by Edmundo González-Blanco; (6) *El Pretorianismo en México*, by Andrés González-Blanco; (7) *Leyes Constitucionalistas comentadas*, by Francisco Rivera; (8) *Obregón*, by Pedro González-Blanco; (9) *Historias de los principales Hechos de Armas librados por el Ejército Constitucionalista*, by J. Alvarez; (10) *La Reacción Zapato-Villista*, by Andrés González-Blanco; (11) *La Convención de Aguas Calientes*, by E. A. Salgado; (12) *El Problema Económico*, by V. Gay; (13) *Pablo González*, by Andrés González-Blanco; (14) *Alvarado*, by Pedro González-Blanco; (15) *Cándido Aguilar*, by Edmundo González-Blanco; (16) *El Problema Agrario*, by J. Prieto Villabrille; (17) *Historia compendiada de la Revolución Constitucionalista*, by Edmundo González-Blanco; (18) *Los Civiles del Constitucionalismo*, by Pedro González-Blanco; (19) *Los Estados Unidos y la Revolución Constitucionalista*, by J. Alvarez; (20) *Jacinto Treviño*, by Pedro González-Blanco.—C. K. JONES.

An interesting contribution to the literature of the long-continued, but as yet futile, efforts of the Central American republics to form a stable union, is contained in Paulino Valladares's work, *Movimiento unionista: iniciativa del Señor Presidente, Doctor Francisco Bertrand* (Tegucigalpa, Tipografía nacional, [1917], pp. 227). This work contains a condensed reprint of the articles published by Dr. Valladares in



*El Cronista* of Tegucigalpa. It is preceded by the diplomatic notes of the Central American chancelleries, regarding the suggestion by Honduras, July 31, 1917, that a Central American Congress be called to consider the formation of a union of the five republics, or an extension of the treaty of 1907, which organized for a period of ten years the Central American Court of Justice. The articles contain considerable discussion of the status of Nicaragua and its relations to the United States.—C. K. JONES.

Dr. Justin H. Smith is now completing a history of the war between the United States and Mexico, 1846-48, on which he has been at work for about twelve years. The point of particular interest to the readers of this REVIEW is that no less care has been taken to understand the Mexican than the American side of the affair. Cordially supported by President Diaz and Señor D. Ignacio Mariscal, long the Minister of Foreign Relations, the author was able to examine all the pertinent documents—probably not less than 80,000—in the national, state, and city archives, and he also had access to other important collections. With these papers, supplemented by the reports of American, British, French, and Spanish ministers and consuls, and all the printed material, it has been possible to trace the political evolution of Mexico down to 1846, and present an intimate picture of the conditions prevailing there during the war. The author attempted to obtain information also from other Hispanic American fields; but very little information could be found. Guatemala was the only country of Central and South America that felt a lively interest in the matter, although attempts were made on the part of Mexico to represent the war as a conflict of races, and to pose as the champion of the Spanish language and peoples of this hemisphere. Probably the war seemed remote and home affairs were engrossing; but it is quite possible that Mexico's erratic and imprudent course had alienated sympathy, and that the Monroe Doctrine and other measures of the American government had created a favorable impression in Central and South America. *El Peruano*, for example, officially connected with the government of Peru, was examined for more than a year without finding any significant comment on the war, except the remark, when Polk allowed Santa Anna to pass through the American blockading squadron on his way from Cuba to Mexico and then found him leading the war against the United States instead of making peace, that it served Polk right for meddling in the affairs of other people. The archives of Peru and Colombia, the two countries of South America where valuable

data seemed likely to exist, appeared to be no more fruitful. Owing to war conditions it is somewhat uncertain when the history will be published.

Professor Roger Merriman's first two volumes of his long eagerly-awaited work, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New* have at last appeared from the Macmillan Press. The first volume treats of "The Middle Ages" and the second of "The Catholic Kings", and the latter contains an index to both volumes. The first volume contains a map of the Iberian kingdoms from 1250 to 1450. The bibliographical notes of both volumes will be found of especial value. The work will be reviewed in a future volume of this REVIEW. The concluding volumes of the work will be devoted to the periods of Charles V. and Philip II., and it is to be hoped that they will be issued soon after the end of the present war.

The seventh edition of Charles F. Lummis's *Spanish Pioneers* (Chicago, 1918) is preceded by a statement made by the Hon. Joseph Scott in a lecture at San Francisco, praising the volume as "a fine tribute . . . to a class of remarkable and heroic people to whom scant justice has been done in the past", and recommending its reading by Knights of Columbus. It is also preceded by a letter to the Knights of Columbus by Mr. Juan C. Cebrián, who presented a copy of the work to every Council of the Knights of Columbus in the United States and the British possessions in America. In his letter Mr. Cebrián calls attention to the "wrong conception of the splendid pioneer work of the Spanish discoverers in the early history of America." In connection with this latest edition of his work, it is interesting to recall that Mr. Lummis was made a corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, Spain, at its meeting of February 18, 1916. In the resolutions adopted by the Academy, the book was praised as "an apology and a vindication of Spain against the false assertions of certain foreign writers in regard to the discovery, colonization, and administration of the Spaniards in America". The volume has been translated into Spanish. Considerable space is devoted to Mr. Lummis and his book in a recent number of the *Revista Histórica* which is published at Valladolid, Spain.

A translation into English of the *Memorias Antiguas e Historiales* of Fernando Montesinos has just been completed by Mr. Philip Ainsworth

Means of Boston. It will be published by the Hakluyt Society of London after the war, and will eventually be supplemented by a translation of the *Anales del Perú* by the same author. This work was undertaken through the interest of the late Sir Clements Markham. Montesinos is the chief source for pre-Inca Peruvian history.

Students of the history of Hispanic America will find the Spanish and Portuguese glossaries in the appendix to Dr. Borchard's *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Argentine, Brazil and Chile* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1917) useful. There is also a useful glossary in Thomas W. Palmer, Jr.'s *Guide to the Law and Literature of Spain* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1915).

Volume II. (1917-1918) of *Proceedings of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge*, edited by Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., the secretary-treasurer of the Society and head of the Historical and Political Science Department of Louisiana State University, has recently appeared. Among other references to Spanish Louisiana in the volume, pp. 60-64 consist of a paper entitled "With the Spanish Records of West Florida". This paper was read by H. A. Major at the meeting of February 22, 1918. The documents to which the paper refers are the judicial records of the territory conquered from the English by Bernardo de Galvez during the American Revolutionary war. They are contained in 18 bound volumes, covering the period from 1781 to 1810 when the territory definitely passed to the United States. These volumes are conserved in the courthouse of East Baton Rouge and, like so many other valuable manuscript collections, are gradually becoming destroyed. Most of the documents are in Spanish, but a few are in French and English. Among them are many letters by Galvez, Miró, Carondelet, and other prominent officials. In closing the author says: "These old records deserve to be preserved for the generations to come, but if steps are not taken to that end soon it will not be long before the words penned by those who laid the foundation of Louisiana will have disappeared from their pages, and along with them the wealth of history that they contain for us". It would seem to one who is interested in the preservation of records of this character that their legitimate place of conservation is in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, where they will receive the care due them.

A notice in the Philippine daily *La Vanguardia*, of April 23, 1918, is to the effect that at a recent meeting of the Bar Association, a communica-

tion from the governor general's secretary was read, in which it was proposed that an English translation be made of the compilation of *Siete Partidas*, and that the Bar Association defray a portion of the expenses incident thereto. The association looked with favor on the proposition but was unable for lack of funds to accept the invitation to assist in the project. Commenting on the proposal, the paper says: "From the way in which the suggestion was made, we are unable to say whether the governor general had any interest in the transaction referred to as a man interested in important legislation and as a mere member of the Bar Association, or whether, on the contrary, he was endeavoring to act as chief of the government of the Philippine Islands. At any rate, Mr. Harrison should learn the authoritative opinion of the Bar Association of this country in regard to the *Siete Partidas* from the point of view of their strict adoption and of instilling them into the minds of the Filipino youths who are being trained in government, as well as also to make Americans and legislators in the United States more familiar with the Spanish judicial ideas and principles so universally upheld, and which up to this time practically constitute the nerve and soul of our codes and the orientation of our private and public morality."

In all this proposal, there seems to have been no hint of the enormity of the task. The translation of the *Siete Partidas* would be of great use to students of Spanish history and law, as well as to students of the history and law of Hispanic America; but it is a task that can not be undertaken without the cooperation of the best scholars of Roman and Spanish language, law, and history, not of one country alone but of many. This is really a task that should be given into the hands of an international commission. A poor and slipshod translation of this old code would be a waste of time, and it is hoped that it will not be attempted until it can be done right.

The *Revista Histórica*, published at Valladolid, Spain, is devoted to "Investigations, bibliography, and the method and teaching of history". In its bibliographical portion, one section is devoted to history of America, including discovery, conquest, colonization, and independence. The titles cited cover a wide sweep, those of foreign countries being given as well as those of Spain. The review is published monthly, and its subscription price is ten pesetas per annum. The bibliographical section may be procured separately if desired.

*El Estudiante Latino-Americano* is the name of a new monthly periodical that is being published by the "Federation of Latin-American



students". The first number appeared in July of this year, and it is to be published every two months by the committee on friendly relations, whose offices are at 347 Madison avenue, New York City. The review, however, is dated from Ann Arbor, Michigan, and its editor and business manager is Sr. J. M. Hernandez of the University of Michigan. The subscription price for the United States, Canada, Mexico, Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and Cuba is \$1.00 per year, and for all other countries, \$1.25. Single numbers are to cost twenty-five cents each.

The review is entirely in Spanish, and much of it is of interest to the historical student. Among the contents of the first number are the following: "Un nuevo lazo entre las dos Americas", by Tancredo Pinochet; "La escuadra norteamericana en Montevideo", by Dr. Juan Zorrilla de San Martín (the Uruguayan poet); "El enseñanza secundaria y superior", by Rodrigo H. Bonilla; "Los edificadores del Pan-Americanismo", by Charles Du Bois Hurrey. The editorial points out the change in the United States with respect to Hispanic America and the Iberian peninsula that has been wrought since 1898. Before that period, the interest was only incidental and sporadic, being mainly limited to missionaries, commercial houses, and a few private persons interested in art, history, or literature. Political relations were purely diplomatic. To the majority of people, "to speak of the Andes was equivalent to speaking of the Himalayas". This state of indifference, it is explained, arose mainly from the newness of the United States, the immensity of its territory, and the internal energy necessary for domestic development. But a change came after the Spanish American War, and in the two decades since 1898, numerous associations and periodicals have attested the interest of the United States in things Hispanic. A recent association is the "Federación de Estudiantes Latino Americanos", which as its name indicates is a federation of the Hispanic American student clubs of various colleges and universities in the United States. The ends of the federation are: 1. To spread a knowledge of Hispanic American countries in the United States; 2. To make the Hispanic-American countries better known among themselves; 3. The study of Hispanic American institutions and needs, and the comparison of the institutions of one country with those of another; 4. To establish helpful relations among the students from Hispanic America; 5. To advise any person about the educational institutions of the United States, etc. The periodical is the organ of the Federation, and its aims are as follows: To spread a knowledge of Hispanic American authors among the students. Accordingly it is proposed that each number of the review will publish

something from the best Spanish or Hispanic American authors, while it will serve as well as a medium of expression for the students themselves. Article will be of many kinds, literary, scientific, artistic, commercial, historical, etc. Translations from English or any other language deemed of interest to the students will also be published. The publication of the review was made possible by Mr. Charles D. Hurrey, of New York, a member of the Committee of Friendly Relations. The Committee makes the appointment of the secretary and of the editor. Every student paying one dollar is a member of the Federation and as such entitled to receive the review. The first number of the periodical has an earnestness about it that augurs well for its future. *El Estudiante Latino-Americano* should do much to cement the relations between Hispanic America and the United States, and to ensure a perpetual peace on the western hemisphere. It is an evidence of the growing unity of purpose of these two continents. It would, it is believed, have been better to have used the name "Hispano" instead of "Latino".

The first number of *La Revista de Indias*, a "monthly Spanish-American Magazine of Arts, Letters, and Sciences" was issued in New York under date of August. This new periodical is published by the Indias Publishing Company at 1416 Broadway under the editorship of Sr. Luis Muñoz Marín. The managing editor is Sr. Antonio Alfau and the editor of the English section, Sr. Salmon de la Selva. As implied above, there are both Spanish and English sections, but these are different throughout. The subscription price is \$5.00 per annum; \$3.00 for six months; and \$1.50 for three months. The literary element predominates, but the periodical will have an interest to students of Hispanic American history. In the Spanish section, "El monumento a Cervantes en San Francisco de California" by Octavio Eliás de Moscoso will be found of interest; and the English section, "Mexico and the United States," by Martín Luis Guzmán. The Spanish editorial states the purpose of the Review to be "de crear lazos fuertes y perdurables de unión intelectual entre los países cuyos laureles más frescos se rinden sobre los mármoles de Cervantes y Shakespeare". It is purposed to publish in the Spanish section "el Pensamiento y el Sentimiento de la América Hispana, y el Pensamiento y el Sentimiento de España, en lo que pueda tener de común,—y es mucho,—con el nuestro. Y el Pensamiento y el Sentimiento de la Patria de Milton, en lo que pueda tener de idéntico,—y es también mucho—con los de América del Norte". The

English editorial declares the new review to be "a medium whereby the people of this country . . . may . . . hold commerce with the Spanish soul . . . as it is expressed in the literature, the art and the scientific intentions of Spain and the so-called Latin countries of America; and likewise to satisfy the high-souled curiosity for things North American and English, that is becoming aware of itself in Spain and the Spanish American countries." Brazil, it is specifically stated, is included within the legitimate scope of the review. There is said to be more real interest in the United States for "Spain and its spiritual interests" than in Germany, France, England, or Italy. "To encourage the spiritual relations between the English-speaking and the Spanish-cultured peoples of the world, is the main purpose to which we are committed." This review should have a distinct place and it is hoped that it will have a long and useful career.

*The American Historical Review* for July contains an interesting article by Dr. Charles H. Haring on "The early Spanish Colonial Exchequer," which will be found extremely useful by students in Hispanic American history. A book might well be devoted entire to this subject. The same issue contains various original documents dealing with "The River Plate Voyages, 1798-1800," contributed and edited by Dr. Charles L. Chandler.

*Inter-America* for June, July, and August contains much interesting material. In the issue for June is a brief statement, first published in *Actualidades* (San Salvador), by M. Cástro R., a Salvadorian juriconsult and the justice for El Salvador, in the Central American court of justice, summarizing "the method of organization, purposes, scope, history, and achievements" of the said court; "The discovery of America by the Chinese", taken from the *Revista Bimestre Cubana* (Havana), by Salvador Massip, professor in the Instituto de Segunda Enseñanza, Matanzas, Cuba—this being "a study, first, of early Chinese movements westward into India, Asia Minor and Europe, and, after the discovery of the properties of the magnetic needle, eastward along the Pacific and, as the author conceives he proves, into western America" (with bibliography); "The opening of the Peruvian Academy corresponding to the Spanish Royal Academy", taken from *Revista Universitaria* (Lima), by Ricardo Palma, of Lima, "the dean of Spanish letters in America", who is now in his 86th year, and is the author of many volumes—this being "an account of the reorganization of one of the corresponding academies, with a sketch of its charter members": "The

civilian republic", by Julio Villoldo, of Havana, founder and editor of *Cuba Contemporánea*, and first published in that paper—this being a demonstration "that in Cuba civic virtues and civilian figures are those which have swayed his countrymen in the choice of their chief magistrates", in the course of which, a sketch is given "of the leaders who participated in the struggles of the last fifty years"; "Forces lost in our national economy", taken from *Revista de Ciencias Económicas* (Buenos Aires), by Enrique Ruiz Guñazú, a professor in the University of Buenos Aires and "author of the important juridical work, *La Magistratura Indiana* (Buenos Aires, 1916)—this being a paper originally presented at the Instituto Popular de Conferencias, Buenos Aires, August 10, 1917, and being "a serious study of an important aspect of the economic situation in Argentina, in the light of conditions produced by the great war, and based upon a recent census"; "Sarmiento", taken from *La Reforma Social* (Havana), by José Pacífico Otero—this being "a comprehensive sketch of one of the greatest of the Argentines". The July issue, entirely in Spanish, contains President Wilson's Red Cross Address; "Actitud de la Dotación de Carnegie", taken from the *Economic World* (New York); "Una nueva carta de libertad", taken from *The North American Review*, by Darwin A. Kingsley; "Programa de Progreso Constructivo", taken from the *New York Times*, by Nicholas Murray Butler; "Una universidad de obreros", taken from *Educational Review*, by D. E. Phillips, of the University of Denver; "El papel que corresponde a los Estados Unidos en el mundo", taken from *The Yale Review*, by George Louis Beer; "La musica de los Estados Unidos y la guerra", taken from *The Musical Quarterly*, by Walter R. Spalding, professor of music at Harvard; "Hérbert Hóover, como individuo y como tipo", taken from *The Atlantic Monthly*, by Vernon Kellogg, of Leland Stanford, Jr., University. The August issue, entirely in English, contains items as follows: "Amerigo Vespucci", taken from *La Revista Nueva* (Panama), by Enrique J. Arce, journalist of Panama; "Our war: its political aims and social effects", taken from *Revista Americana* (Rio de Janeiro), an address delivered in the Municipal Theater of Rio de Janeiro, November 29, 1917, by Gregorio Avelino—this being a discussion of the causes of the great war, etc., and its effect on Brazil; "Agustín Alvarez", taken from *Ideas* (Buenos Aires), by Arturo de la Mota—in which Alvarez is held up to Argentina "as an exemplar in character, and his ideas as a wholesome offset . . . to the dangerous tendencies of both the national leaders and of the Argentine people in general"; "Mariano Moreno" ("an Argentine juricon-



sult, journalist and patriotic leader, 1778-1811 . . . the editor of the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, the leading organ of the revolutionary junta, during the first months of its existence") taken from *Caras y Caretas* (Buenos Aires), by M. de Vedia y Mitre, of the University of Buenos Aires; "Maipú, 1818-1918", taken from *La Nación* (Buenos Aires), by Bartolomé Mitre, of Buenos Aires (1821-1906) an ardent patriot, twice president of the republic—this being "in the main, a reprint of the account of the battle taken from Bartolomé Mitre's *Historia de San Martín*"; "The ancient races and civilizations of Peru", taken from *Variedades* (Lima), by Horacio H. Urteaga, a well-known Peruvian student and author—this being a discussion of the following matters—"The value of monumental evidence in historical investigation; the oldest civilized races; the invading races; the value of philology in discovering the political dominations that have been blotted out from tradition: geographical position; prehistoric struggles; military defenses and their orientation; the knowledge of Cieza de León; ancient Quechua culture distributed in the neighborhood of Titicaca; characteristics of the Colla race; the representations of ancient culture revealed in works of stone; "The innovator José Batlle y Ordóñez", taken from *Nosotros* (Buenos Aires), by Folco Testena—this being "the description of a statesman and journalist who, in the opinion of the author, 'is the man of all South Americans best known and most highly esteemed in Europe', and in which "the political, social, and religious life of Uruguay" is sketched; "The first book by an American writer", taken from *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional de México*, by Pedro Henríquez Ureña, in which the relative merits of Mexico and Santo Domingo as the home of the first native born American writer are set forth, preference being given to Mexico.

During the Commencement at Columbia University this year, the first Loubat prize (\$1000.00) was awarded to Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois for his recent book, *The Mississippi Valley in British Politics* (Cleveland, Clark, 1917), while the second prize (\$400.00) was awarded to Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California, for his volume, *José de Galvez, Visitor-General of New Spain, 1765-1771* (University of California Press, 1916). These prizes were awarded for the best works published in the English language since July 1, 1913, on geography, archaeology, ethnology, philology, numismatics, or the history of North America prior to the period of the American Revolution.

In his work, *Cuadros de la Historia militar y civil de Venezuela desde el Descubrimiento y Conquista de Guayana hasta la Batalla de Carabobo* (Madrid, Editorial América, [1918?], pp. 460), Lino Duarte Level discusses the following matters: 1, La conquista; 2, La colonia; 3, La primera patria; 4, Las derrotas; 5, Grandes campañas; 6, Cuadros antiguos; and 7, Fastos militares. This volume, which is no. XX. of the "Biblioteca Ayacucho" was previously published (Caracas, 1911), under the title *Historia patria*.—C. K. JONES.

Professor William Spence Robertson's volume on the *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics*, has been published by D. Appleton and Company.

W. W. Pierson, Jr.'s *A Syllabus of Latin-American History*, the second edition of which was published in 1917 is "designed primarily for the use of students of the University of North Carolina as a guide to the introductory study of Latin-American history", but it will be found of use in many institutions. "In it an effort has been made to provide for as general and comprehensive a study of Latin-American civilization as the time limits of a single one year's course would permit." Dr. Pierson has emphasized the institutional and economic aspects of Hispanic American history throughout. The author declares the present interest in the United States in Hispanic America "has been in part due to the construction of the Panama Canal and to the increasing importance in diplomacy of the Caribbean area, and in part it may be ascribed to the exigencies and effects of the great war of 1914 which have made people conscious of trade opportunities formerly non-existent, or, while existent, unrecognized; and many have thus concluded that the diplomatic, political, and economic importance of Latin America has made of prime necessity a thorough study and systematic understanding of its past history and institutions. These facts and this new consciousness may indicate the opening of another period in the history of the Western Hemisphere, which will doubtless have a distinctly inter-American emphasis. The field of Latin-American history has hitherto been little known to and too often neglected by the undergraduate student in the universities—if, indeed, courses in such history have been offered. . . . The course as outlined in this syllabus provides for the study of the history, geography, political and social institutions, and the economic development and possibilities of Latin-American countries. A careful analysis and investigation will thus be made of the Spanish and

Portuguese colonial systems and colonial experience in order to explain the wars of independence and the existing political and social conditions. Attention will then be directed to the development of republics, the struggle for political stability, and the exploitation of resources". The *Syllabus* is divided into an introductory section; the period of discovery; the Spanish colonial system; settlement of Brazil and Portuguese institutions; geography and resources of "Latin America"; the struggle for independence, 1806-1826; early relations of "Latin America" with the United States—the Monroe doctrine; political theories and early republican institutions; political history, 1826-1915—political heritage of colonial times; relations with one another and with Europe; later diplomatic and political relations with the United States; trade relations of "Latin America" and the United States; contemporary history, problems, and achievements of "Latin America". A useful list of books is given.

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## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

### BOOKS

- Acevedo, Eduardo: *Manual de historia Uruguaya*. Montevideo, El Siglo Ilustrado, [1917]. Pp. 460.
- Ackerman, Carl W.: *Mexico's dilemma*. New York, George H. Doran Company, [1918]. Pp. 281. Illustrated. (The appendix contains an English translation of the Mexican Constitution of 1917, made by H. N. Branch, who was for some time connected with the Doheny Research Foundation.)
- Altamira, Rafael: *España y el programa americanista*. Madrid, Editorial América, [1917]. Pp. 252.
- Alvarez, Agustín: *South America; ensayo de psicología política*. Buenos Aires, 1918.
- Amunátegui, M. L., and Vicuña Mackenna: *La dictadura de O'Higgins*. Madrid, Biblioteca Ayacucho, [1917]. Pp. 400.
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- Barrett, Robert S.: *Paper, paper products, and printing machinery in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay*. [Department of Commerce, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Special Agents Series, No. 163.] Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918. Pp. 165. (This contains a great deal of matter, such as newspaper lists, etc., that will be found of considerable use to the historian. Mr. Barrett has written several other books on the same subjects for other countries of South America.)

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- Gaxiola, José: La frontera de la raza. Madrid, Tipografía Artística, 1917. Pp. 360. (Contents: Hispano-américa; los Estados Unidos; la diplomacia de Venustiano Carranza; la Sociedad Internacional Americana. Begins with the time of Washington.)
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- Juderías, Julian: La leyenda negra. Estudios acerca del concepto de España en el extranjero. 2d ed., revised, with additions and new bibliographical references. Barcelona, Editorial Araluce, [1917]. Pp. 528.
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- Lummis, Charles F.: *The Spanish pioneers*. 7th ed. Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co., 1918. Pp. 292. (Preceded by a statement by Hon. Joseph Scott and a letter to the Knights of Columbus by J. C. Cebrián.)
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- Zorilla de San Martín, Juan: *La epopeya de Artigas. Historia de los tiempos heroicos de la República Oriental del Uruguay*. 2d ed. 2 vols. Barcelona, Luis Gili, 1916, 1917. (A review of this book by Professor W. R. Shepherd will be found in the *American Historical Review*, for July, 1918.)

## ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

- An account of the voyage made by the frigates "Princesa" and "Favorita" in the year 1799 from San Blas to Northern Alaska. In *The Catholic Historical Review*, July, 1918. (Translated from an unpublished manuscript in the archives of the University of Santa Clara, California. This is "an account of the voyage made by Father John Riobó, as chaplain of the expedition to discover new lands and seas north of the settlements of the ports of Monterey and of our Father, San Francisco; whose missions are in charge of the Apostolic missionaries of the College of San Fernando of Mexico". The original is in a "sort of commonplace book kept by the Franciscans at Santa Clara mission, and was found there in the library by the Jesuits when they took over the mission in 1851". It was translated by the Very Reverend Walter Thornton S.J., the present rector. The book belonged to the old mission founded in 1777 and contains many private notes by the Father Superior on matters connected with the Indians.)
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